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17 May, 1878.

MEMOIR

OF

GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH

——"QUO FIT UT OMNIS
VOTIVÂ PATEAT VELUTI DESCRIPTA TABELLÂ
VITA SENIS."

—*Hor.*

From an Original Picture
By Sir T. Lawrence

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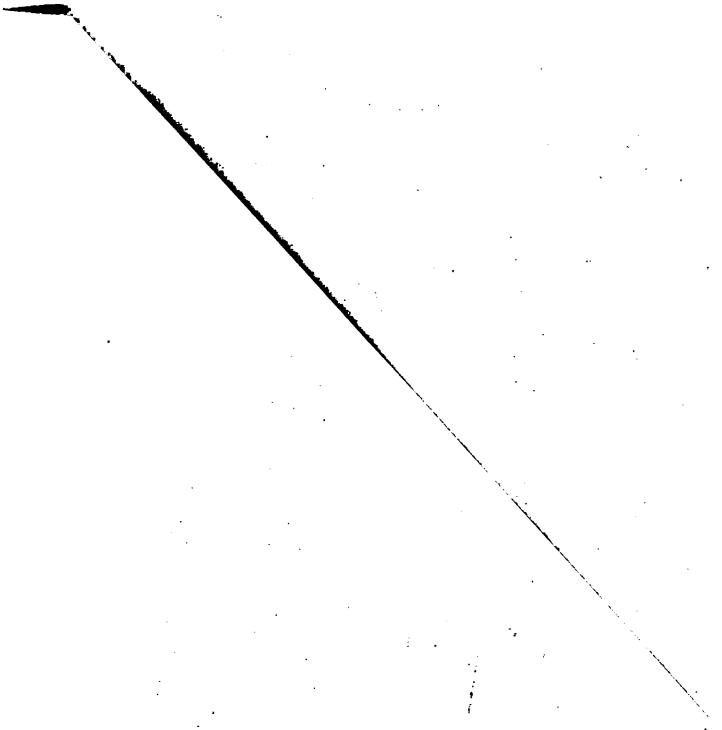

By Sir J. F.

MEMOIR

OF

GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH

G. C. B.

BY

JOHN MURRAY GRAHAM

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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1876, May 17.
Minot Frisbie.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

If an apology were requisite (as some may think) for adding to the number of new books a Memoir of the Life of Lord Lynedoch, it would be a fair observation to make that no authentic memoir of a somewhat remarkable life has yet been written. But I trust that no apology is necessary. Notwithstanding the years that have elapsed since the gallant veteran's death, and since the close of the Peninsular War, some interest will still be felt in recurring to the events of a life distinguished in the British annals, endeared to many by traditional recollections, and to a few survivors by ties of friendship.

Having lived occasionally with Lord Lynedoch during the later years of his life, and possessing original letters, the dates of which

extend over almost the whole of it, I have had some advantages in putting together the following notices. It does not enter into the plan of this Memoir to quote many of Lord Lynedoch's letters in my possession (relating chiefly to local and family matters), but they have been very useful to the narrative. So far as despatches and letters connected with his campaigns are concerned, the most important are given in the first edition of the volumes of the 'Wellington Despatches,' by Gurwood, in Napier's 'History of the Peninsular War,' and in the Annual Registers. These have been either introduced into the narrative or quoted in footnotes—care being taken to make particular references, where the originals are not quoted entire.

To those friends in Perthshire who have furnished me with certain anecdotes of Lord Lynedoch's early life, I take this opportunity of tendering my best thanks. In drawing upon such traditional information, as well as in some particulars which I have given from personal knowledge, the authenticity of the narrative has been carefully attended to.—(1868.)

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of the Memoir of Lord Lynedoch having been for some years out of print, and copies of it not easily to be had, this second edition is now brought out. Through the kindness of my respected friend William Smythe, Esq. of Methven, Convener of the county of Perth, I have had placed at my disposal a considerable number of letters from Lord Lynedoch and other persons, addressed to the late Lord Methven, a portion of which, chiefly relating to public matters, is printed in this edition. These letters belong to an important period of Lord Lynedoch's life, from 1789 to 1794, when (after the death of Mrs Graham) he was about to commence what may be called his public life as a military man and colonel of the 90th Regi-

ment, and also as representative of Perthshire in Parliament. The interest of such notices of a time gone by may, indeed, be more local than general; but the notices are not the less characteristic not merely of individuals well known in their day, but of a state of matters in the army, and also in county and election politics, which now belongs to the past and will not be seen again. The chapters first in order of the Memoir have been revised, and some parts rewritten.

The book, with its additions, may be more adapted for the meridian of the county of Perth than for the general public. Its memories of the past will now excite no painful feelings and stir no party interests; and it may convey to the present generation some impressions of a remarkable man not without their value.

July 1877.

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MEMOIR

OF

LORD LYNEDOCH.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Lynedoch's parentage — Education and early youth— Succeeds on his father's death to the estate of Balgowan, and marries—Anecdotes—State of agriculture in Perthshire after the middle of the eighteenth century — Mr Graham an agriculturist and improver of his estate— The lands and place of Lynedoch.

THOMAS GRÆME, of Balgowan, in the county of Perth, father of Lord Lynedoch, was married in 1743 to Lady Christian Hope, daughter of Charles, first Earl of Hopetoun. A country gentleman of good classical attainments and business habits, he resided almost constantly at home, occupying himself with the management of his estate, and

seldom, if ever, crossing the English border. Whatever may have been his private feelings towards the exiled family of Stuart, he took no part in the insurrection of 1745.

Mr Græme and Lady Christian had three sons of their marriage, of whom Thomas, the subject of this memoir, was the youngest. He was born in 1748 at Newton of Blairgowrie, the mansion-house of a property then belonging to Mr Græme. His eldest brother (John) survived till the year 1756; the other died in infancy. The house of Balgowan, situated in the flat part of Strathearn, between the village of Methven and Crieff, was the home of Thomas Græme's childhood and youth. The line of road from Perth to Crieff then passed very near the house, on the north side; and at a late period of life Lord Lynedoch was in the habit of mentioning, as amongst his earliest recollections, having been taken one morning by his nurse to see a regiment of dragoons pass by, an impression which time had never effaced.

The first instructor of the children at Balgowan was the Rev. Mr Frazer, for many years minister of the parish of Moneydie. He came to teach them at home, and it is tradition-

ally told that the lower parts of the windows of the schoolroom were boarded, to prevent the boys' attention being distracted by looking out. In addition to their letters Mr Frazer taught them the sword exercise. After the death of his elder brother, Thomas Græme, when about the age of twelve to fourteen, had the benefit of the tuition of James Macpherson, the compiler and translator of Ossian's Poems. During the time of his being private tutor at Balgowan, which was about three years, Macpherson is said in contemporary letters to have made occasional excursions to the Highlands, returning always with fresh ballads and fragments. His pupil and he sometimes travelled together. They passed the autumn of 1760 in reading and study at Moffat, attracted by its medicinal waters and the healthy air of its romantic vale.

Thomas Græme was early initiated in outdoor exercises, especially riding. On one occasion he was allowed to go on his pony to a fox-hunt, the meet being at Dupplin, and his uncle, John, second Earl of Hopetoun, being of the party. A fox was found in the Dupplin woods which made for the Tay and took the water below Perth, followed by the pack.

The young fox-hunter allowed his zeal so far to get the better of him that he overrode the hounds and caught the fox in the river before it could reach the opposite bank. Considering himself to have performed a very clever feat, he carried the fox to the door of the George Inn at Perth, where the fox-hunters were assembled after their run. Lord Hopetoun, angry or pretending to be angry at Tommy Græme for having spoilt their sport, gave him a slight stroke with his hunting-whip. The boy, nettled at this treatment when he expected commendation, rode home in great dudgeon to Balgowan, and was with some difficulty prevailed upon by his mother, Lady Christian, to make his peace with her brother.*

Mr Græme dying in 1767, his son Thomas Græme (who after his father's death altered the spelling of his name), succeeded to Balgowan, an estate of considerable value and extent, and of an improvable character. Soon after this he made an extensive tour on the Continent with his cousin Lord Hope, so completing, and as it were supplement-

* This Earl of Hopetoun was married at Balgowan in 1762 to his second wife, Miss Oliphant of Rossie.

ing, the careful home education he had received.*

At the general election in 1772, Thomas Graham, now of Balgowan, contested the county of Perth with Colonel James Murray of Strowan, a near relative of the Duke of Atholl. Of the freeholders forming the constituency of the county, 48 voted for Colonel Murray and 42 for Mr Graham.

In 1774 he married Mary, second daughter of the ninth Lord Cathcart, then seventeen years of age, on the same day (26th December) that her elder sister Jane was married to the fourth Duke of Atholl.† This marriage was the commencement of an intimacy of friendship with John Duke of Atholl, long so well known as a planter and sportsman

* There is an existing portrait in my possession of Lord Lynedoch by Battoni, dated at Rome 1770, half-length, in a laced scarlet coat, caressing a large setter, and holding in his hand a letter addressed "Thomas Graham, Esq." This spelling of his name is that which has been long in use in the Montrose family, of which the family of Balgowan was an early scion.

† Their next younger sister, Hon. Louisa Cathcart, was married two years after to Viscount Stormont, nephew of the first Earl of Mansfield. A short poem or *Epithalamium* on the marriages of the Duchess of Atholl and Mrs Graham by Professor Richardson of Glasgow (author of 'Criticisms on some of Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters') is given in the Appendix to this Memoir.

and hospitable Highland chief, which afterwards exercised a marked influence on the political views and parliamentary action of the laird of Balgowan.

From his boyhood onwards he delighted in horses and dogs; but in this, as well as in other pursuits, utility and general views were blended with pleasure and amusement. He shot on his own lands, and accompanied the Duke of Atholl grouse-shooting and deer-stalking on the Atholl moors. He often said to friends of later years that he owed much of that education of the eye with reference to ground and distances, which he found so useful in his military life, to his deer-hunting in the forest of Atholl. He rode with fox-hounds when he could, and was remarked then, as well as afterwards in England, for his skill and daring in the hunting-field. In the year 1828 I find him referring to his early experience of the soundness of the ground on the Perthshire Ochills for hunting, observing that "he knew it all." *

Mrs Graham was of a handsome person, rather slightly formed, elegant and accomplished, and very attentive to her household

* Private letter, November 1828.

duties. She is said to have interested by the sweetness of her manners all who approached her. The form and features of the "leddie" of Balgowan have been transmitted to the present day in an admirable picture by Gainsborough.

An anecdote is preserved in Perthshire of a ride Mr Graham made on one occasion when they had gone to Edinburgh to a ball. On arriving there some time before the ball, Mrs Graham discovered she had forgot her jewel-box. Her husband, whose attention was most devoted, immediately threw himself on horse-back and rode back to Balgowan (about 42 miles including a ferry), taking fresh horses by the way. Riding up to the house he found a park-gate locked, which he took at speed; but his horse leaped short and stuck on the gate, while he himself had a fall. Without more ado he went to his wife's room for the jewel-box, got another horse and galloped back to Edinburgh in time for the ball. So were affairs of this kind managed before the days of railways and electric telegraphs.

In his character of a country gentleman residing on his estate, Mr Graham necessarily became an agriculturist. Agriculture was at

that time in a depressed condition in Perthshire as in other northern counties. The country had not as yet recovered from the agitation caused by two Jacobite insurrections. The mode of cultivation by *runrig*, and the system of *infield* and *outfield*, were still prevalent; and these terms intimate sufficiently to those who understand their meaning, a very defective and primitive state of husbandry.

In the transition state of matters which characterised the later portion of the century, agriculture in Perthshire made a considerable advance; and among the foremost improvers of their estates were Mr Graham and two adjoining proprietors and near neighbours, Sir William Murray, Bart. of Ochtertyre, and David Smyth, Esq. of Methven. The land was all divided in farms and enclosed. One of the first enclosures in the district was a large field near the village of Methven, which was fenced by the laird of Balgowan in the face of sundry remonstrances that he was putting himself to very unnecessary expense and trouble, when there were so many idle *herds* (herdsmen) all about. Trees were now systematically planted, and thorn and beech

hedges set. Steadings were built and leases granted securing the tenants' possession for certain terms of years, usually three, seven, or nineteen. In the long leases a rotation of cropping was provided for. Attention was paid to the adoption of improved implements of husbandry, ploughs, carts, &c. Potatoes and turnips, instead of being merely garden plants, were cultivated on a large scale, and turnips applied to the fattening and winter feeding of stock. By such judicious measures the value of land in the district of Strathearn, as well as in other parts of Perthshire, was greatly increased.

Mr Graham set himself with great care to improve and cultivate the breeds of horses and other stock. He joined the neighbouring proprietors in the introduction of stallions from England, strong thoroughbreds and Cleveland bays, with well-selected brood-mares. He bred in this way to a greater or less extent all his life. He was equally attentive to the improvement of the breeds of cattle and sheep by introductions from the south. Later in the century he brought cows and bulls of different ages from the county of Devon. To this breed of cattle, although,

from their delicacy and fineness of skin, not well adapted for useful country stock, he was always partial, and when he acquired the lands of Lynedoch, had them constantly pasturing on the sloping lawns bordering the Almond water. Of beautiful shape and colour, with brass-tipped horns, they were not bad substitutes for deer. He had also a flock of Bakewell's breed of Leicester sheep, which the sheep-farmers afterwards advantageously crossed with Cheviot and other breeds.*

The lands of Lynedoch or Lednoch were not originally part of the estate of Balgowan,

* Robertson's Agriculture of Perthshire (Perth, 1799), pp. 304, 309. This author, in a chapter on tillage, informs us that in places where the *declivity* of the land renders it necessary, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Balgowan, where the farmers seemed to have imbibed the spirit of their landlord for improvement, the ridges ought neither to be drawn parallel to the bottom of the fields nor at right angles up and down, but diagonally; the great point being to understand in what direction this diagonal slope of the ridges ought to run, Balgowan's tenants being perfectly correct in this respect, &c. There was a difference of opinion, however, among practical farmers as to this diagonal ploughing of steep fields. In a topographical notice of some places in Perthshire (p. 482) the author mentions Balgowan, "where the policy is extensive, alternately covered with clumps of trees, hedgerows, and rich land improved according to a system which does honour to the understanding and activity of the proprietor."

but were acquired by Mr Graham in the year 1785 from Major Barry. They are situated in a picturesque and solitary part of the valley of the Almond; and he spared no expense and took great delight in cultivating and beautifying the sloping banks and hillsides that border the course of that river. The romantic burial-place of the heroines of the Scottish ballad of "Bessie Bell and Mary Gray," now protected by an iron railing, is in a *haugh* or bottom a little above what was the site of Lynedoch Cottage, between the wooded bank and the water of Almond. The planting of the woodlands was done with great taste and with an admirable eye for subsequent effect. Oak and oak-coppice was his favourite kind of wood, and the plantations were skilfully arranged for successive cuttings. There is a traditional anecdote of Mr Graham and his friend Graham of Fintry having tried the experiment of growing oak at Lynedoch from acorns sown broadcast, which, however, did not succeed, great part of the acorns being destroyed by field-mice.

Lynedoch Cottage, afterwards the residence of Lord Lynedoch when in Scotland, was originally a small farmhouse, which was

gradually added to and embellished with a conservatory and verandah, retaining always its thatched roof. He was so partial to Lynedoch that the house and grounds of Balgowan came to be comparatively neglected, although it continued to be the family residence during the life of his wife and of his mother; while transactions and exchanges or *excambions* of land were entered into, so as to enlarge the estate in the direction of Lynedoch and diminish it on the side of Balgowan. The subsequent erection of a good range of offices (including a "double coach-house") and a new garden completed Lynedoch Cottage in so far as a residence; while the home-farm was set down about a mile below on the river-side, the principal building being (not very appropriately in the climate of Scotland) in the style of an Italian villa with low-pitched roof.

From an Original Picture
By Gainsborough

CHAPTER II.

Mr and Mrs Graham's domestic life—Anecdotes—Burns the poet at Blair Castle—Decline of Mrs Graham's health—Her death—Her picture by Gainsborough.

Mr and Mrs Graham had no issue of their marriage; but this did not seem at all to lessen or affect the happiness of their conjugal union. They lived mostly at home, engaged in the pursuits and enjoying the pleasures of a country life. In the society of her friends Mrs Graham was much beloved, and envy itself was disarmed by the attractive amiability of her nature.

They were members of the Episcopal congregation which met in Perth in what was formerly the "Parliament House," situated on the north side of the High Street, and still commemorated in the name of Parliament Close, the avenue by which it was approached. This congregation was not then in commun-

ion with the Scottish Episcopal Church, apart from which it continued to exist for nearly a century, not joining that Church till the year 1848.

They went occasionally to England and across the Channel. One day in London, soon after their marriage, when Mr Graham was driving in a carriage with the Duchess of Atholl and his wife from Pall Mall to Grosvenor Square to a party at a certain Lady Brown's, the carriage was stopped in Park Lane (near the Marquis of Hertford's house) by a robber, who with pistol in hand demanded their purses and valuables. Two accomplices seized the horses' heads. This part of London was then very ill lighted, and the police in the worst possible state. Mr Graham, who was at the opposite side of the chariot, sprang across the ladies to the carriage-door, collaring and throwing his weight upon the robber who fell on the ground. Drawing his sword, which was then worn in dress, he threatened to run the man through if his associates holding the horses' heads made any move. They decamped, and the robber was given into custody.

Towards the end of the American war, Mr

and Mrs Graham when at sea on their way to the Continent were taken prisoners by an American privateer. After a short detention on board the privateer they were liberated and sent on shore. On one occasion prior to the French Revolution they were attending a race-meeting at Versailles, and Mr Graham had entered a horse for a sweepstakes. The race was to have been ridden by gentlemen riders, but this condition being departed from, jockeys had to be provided. In default of a jockey Mr Graham desired his valet who was upon the ground to ride the horse, his only instruction for the race being, "Don't let a Frenchman beat you." The horse so ridden won the race, amid the plaudits of the sporting world of Versailles.*

In the autumn of 1787 Mrs Graham happened to be at Blair on a visit to the Duchess of Atholl, where were also their youngest sister Miss Cathcart, Mr Graham of Fintry, and Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre. In the last days of August, Robert Burns the poet, then on a tour in the Highlands, brought

* Mr Charles Sidey, afterwards for many years postmaster of Perth, was then Mr Graham's confidential steward and valet.

a letter of introduction to the Duke, who was from home. The Duchess being informed of his arrival gave him an invitation to Blair, where he stayed some days, the Duke returning before the poet's visit concluded. Currie, in his life of Burns (Works, vol. I. p. 181), says of this visit: "It appears that the impression made by our poet on the noble family of Atholl was in a high degree favourable; it is certain he was charmed with the reception he received from them, and he often mentioned the two days he spent at Atholl house as among the happiest of his life."

Graham of Fintry, whom Burns met for the first time on this occasion, was one of the Scotch commissioners of excise, and afterwards obtained for him the office he held in the excise.

By advice of the Duke, Burns, on leaving Blair, visited the Falls of Bruar on his way to Inverness; and on arriving there he sent, in a letter addressed to Mr Walker,* then residing at Blair, the well-known "Humble Petition of Bruar Water to the Duke of

* Collector of customs at Perth, afterwards a professor in Glasgow University, and author of a poem called "The Defence of Order." The letter is dated September 5, 1787.

Atholl." Of this poem he says in the letter, "It eases my heart a good deal, as rhyme is the coin with which a poet pays his debts of honour or gratitude." And he thus commemorates the party he met at Blair: "I shall never forget the fine family-piece I saw at Blair. The amiable, the truly noble Duchess, with her smiling little seraph in her lap, at the head of the table, and the lovely 'olive plants,' as the Hebrew bard finely says, round the happy mother; the beautiful Mrs Graham; the lovely, sweet Miss Cathcart. I wish I had the powers of Guido to do them justice!" . . .

Burns was well and kindly received by the Duke and his guests. If they cared for this mode of requital, the poet might perhaps have said of himself, with Milton,—

> "He can requite thee, for he knows the charms
> That call fame on such gentle acts as these;
> And he can spread thy name o'er lands and seas,
> Whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms."

The country gentlemen of Perthshire, towards the end of the last century, were much engaged in the business of obtaining Acts of Parliament for turnpike roads, and in lining out country or statute labour roads. Writing

from Bristol (March 15, 1791) to his friend and neighbour Mr Smyth of Methven, Mr Graham shows more caution as to embarking in road bonds for money advanced upon the roads of the county than was the case with some other proprietors at that time. "Do you mean to apply (he writes, with reference to a certain road bill) for leave to erect tolls? and have you formed any scheme about this bond for raising the money? I hope you will receive such information about the produce of the toll as not to make it a matter of risk to follow the example of the trustees of the other roads in entering into a joint bond." The debts contracted at that period by turnpike trustees, and still unpaid, form at present one of the difficulties attending roads and bridges legislation in Scotland.

The married life of Mr and Mrs Graham, passed in the occupations and pursuits of which it has been attempted to give a sketch, had continued about seventeen years, when Mrs Graham's health showed symptoms of decline. In the spring of 1791 she went with her husband to Bristol Hotwells, and thence into Devonshire, returning to Scotland in summer. In the spring of 1792, accompanied

by her youngest sister, Miss Cathcart, who was also in delicate health, and Mr Graham, she tried the climate of the south of France. They were a short time resident at Nice. Although the Revolution was then in the midst of its career, travelling was still possible, war not having yet been declared between England and France.

"Time a chequered mantle wears," and no happiness on earth is lasting. Mrs Graham's health rapidly sank; and she died on board ship off the coast near Hyères, on the 26th of June 1792.

The sorrowing husband returned home. On his arrival in England he wrote as follows to Mr Smyth of Methven:—

"COWES, ISLE OF WIGHT,
Aug. 28, 1792.

"MY DEAR SMYTH,—I did not trouble you with a letter to inform you of the fatal termination of Mrs G.'s disorder, because I had heard of the sad losses in your own family, which have indeed been uncommonly severe, and must require all your fortitude to bear up against. Your letter was returned to me from Nice. . . . I came here some

days ago with all Lord Stormont's family, chiefly on Miss Cathcart's account, as sea-bathing was much recommended for her,* and shall stay till the arrival of a ship from Bourdeaux. I left Mrs Hay (Mrs Graham's maid) and a servant to take charge of the coffin in it; and I have now determined that it shall be deposited in the vault of South Audley Street Chapel till the burying-place is rebuilt at Methven Church.—Adieu, my dear Smyth, and believe me ever most truly and affectionately yours, THOS. GRAHAM."

In the churchyard of his parish church of Methven Mr Graham soon after this caused a mausoleum to be built, from the design of Mr Playfair of London, father of the late William H. Playfair, architect, in form resembling the smaller sort of tombs in the Campagna at Rome; and in its vault the remains of his wife and of his eldest brother were deposited. The whole-length portrait of Mrs Graham, by Gainsborough, presented by the late Robert Graham, Esq., to the Scottish National Gallery, is well known. This picture and another portrait of her by the same

* Miss Cathcart died at London in 1794.

artist, Kit-cat size, were, about this time, enclosed in a case and preserved in the back-room of a shop in London. The pictures continued there during Lord Lynedoch's life-time, and were taken out after his death.

CHAPTER III.

Letters of Mr Graham on the politics of the day and the debates in Parliament—On the King's illness, the Regency Bill, and Perthshire matters.

In order not to interrupt the previous narrative, I have delayed referring to a series of letters addressed by Mr Graham to Mr Smyth of Methven (afterwards a Lord of Session by the title of Lord Methven), and to other persons. These letters (besides private matters) refer to the politics of the day, in Parliament and in Perthshire, and extend over about five years, from the end of 1788 to April 1794, when he attained the fulfilment of his early ambition to represent his native county in Parliament, having, about the same time, commenced his military career by raising the 90th Regiment, and being appointed its colonel.

In December 1788 Mr Graham had gone with his wife to pass the winter in the neigh-

bourhood of London, and was living at a villa called Littlegrove, near Barnet. From thence he writes to Mr Smyth :—

"I can give you no news, as people not in the secret are at a loss to conjecture what Mr Pitt means. He has from the first treated the Prince [of Wales] with the most marked neglect and disrespect, so as to make it impossible for the Prince to employ him without being forced to it; and great pains are taken to keep up the belief of the prospect of a speedy recovery of the King, which Willis assists in with all the zeal of a party politician.* The other physicians (who leave the management entirely to Willis) say there is no amendment as yet; and it is publicly known from them that two days ago he was much worse than he ever had been, having had so violent an

* The opinion, in this instance, of the King's physician, Dr Willis, was justified by the event. The first symptoms of the mental alienation of George III. were perceived on the 2d October 1788. He was pronounced to be perfectly recovered on the 25th February following, before the Regency Bill passed the Lords. In the debates at this time on the Regency Bill and the restrictions to be imposed on the Prince of Wales, Mr Graham's opinion appears to have sided with the views of Mr Fox, which were supported in the House of Lords by his brother-in-law, Lord Stormont, and by Lord Loughborough.

attack as (besides a strait-waistcoat) to require being bound down, with bandages over his head, body, and limbs, to a settee. I shall go to town to-morrow to hear what passes in the House of Commons on the subject of the limitations. It is not known what they mean to propose; but it is generally supposed that, under pretence of personal respect to the King, they are to retain the patronage of the household for the Queen, who will be at the head of a party against the Prince's government, and that other limitations will be proposed, in order to weaken as much as possible his power. It is probable that with such a majority as Pitt has, he will carry his own measures; though, as these questions will be more personal to the Prince than any hitherto brought on, he may not be so well supported: at all events, the business will not be settled under a fortnight's more debate, as the proposition of a phantom king to give the royal assent to a Regency Bill will be combated in every stage possible, as the most unconstitutional mode of proceeding they could have adopted.

"Adieu. Believe me ever sincerely yours,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

Addresses to the Ministry were at this time presented from various parts of the kingdom, expressive of gratitude for the assertion, by the House of Commons, of the right of Parliament to interfere in the matter of the regency; and an address for this purpose, from the county of Perth, appears to have been contemplated in certain quarters. In the letter which follows, Mr Graham dissuades Mr Smyth, then sheriff and convener of the county, from encouraging an address being sent from Perthshire.

"LONDON, *Jan.* 20, 1789.

"DEAR SMYTH,—I have just heard that Mr Paterson,* who is here, had been applied to to join in a requisition to you to call the county of Perth together, in order to address Mr Pitt. I hope most sincerely that no such measure will be proposed, as, in the present situation of the country, it is pretty evident that such addresses may do harm, and cannot possibly do good. I have not been able to hear any particulars who are the promoters—whether people here or in the country. I understand Paterson refused, as not choosing to take any

* Of Castle Huntly.

part when absent; and unless it originates here, the application to him looks as if they were in want of support at home. But it rather makes me think the original idea has been suggested here, and the more so as it is notorious that that has been the case with many of the addresses already procured. Such an origin may do well enough for a paltry borough; but I should hope the proposal would be received with more jealousy by a considerable county. However, be it as it may, I hope you will do what you can to prevent the meeting. If you are properly applied to, you must submit; but as your opinion in such a case would be likely to weigh much with any of those who would apply to you, you might perhaps be able to dissuade them from persisting in the measure. And this I think you might do whatever opinion you may have on the question of *right;* because it is enough for the present argument against addressing to say that such a measure is certainly not necessary at this moment; and as addresses have been so often made use of as a mere political engine, they ought to be put into people's hands with caution, and only on occasions when urgent

necessity requires it. I flatter myself you cannot think it necessary to thank people for the declaration of those rights * which (even if very clear and very important) were not at the time attacked, all that was urged (by Mr Fox's party) being not to excite animosity by entering into the debate of an abstract proposition not necessary for settling the business; and those who did not vote *for* the right of the two Houses did not vote *against* it, but only voted against agitating the question. The real object of trying to procure these addresses is to throw as much odium as possible on the Prince and on his Government, if he does not employ Mr Pitt. Whether that is a wise thing to do or not at such a moment as this, I leave you to judge. The Prince certainly will change the Ministry. They will come into office under every possible disadvantage, from the nature of the limitations which were voted last night; and if, added to that, every avenue be shut up by which they might hope to get into public favour, what a situation do you reduce them

* Viz., the right of Parliament to provide for the present emergency by imposing limitations on the Prince of Wales in a Regency Bill.

to? The country will be thrown into confusion for want of a Government of energy either way, whether they remain, or whether Mr Pitt forces himself back into office, not more by his own power than by their weakness. . . . I have not seen the Duke of Atholl yet. I can hardly suppose, in his situation, that he can wish for such a measure; but whether he does or not, I should certainly do everything I could to oppose it. And I know of no way so effectual as trying to convince you of its impropriety and unfairness. You are more apt than any man I know to act from principle, when your interest might suggest that being passive would be better. On this occasion I hope you will be passive from principle; and if you think so, I trust to your acting up to it, if occasion requires any exertion to quash the business. At all events I hope you will comply with the terms of my motion of a fortnight's previous notice in the newspapers, which, although not carried into a resolution, was so unanimously acquiesced in as a fair and proper thing, that you will be justified in the delay.—Ever most sincerely yours, T. GRAHAM."

No address on the subject of this letter was sent by the county of Perth; but after the restoration of the King's health, an address to his Majesty was voted (17th March 1789) by the freeholders and commissioners of supply of the county, in which the following passage occurs: "The apprehension that we might be deprived of the benefit of your Majesty's Government has impressed on our minds with redoubled force those sentiments of duty, gratitude, and affection, which the whole course of your Majesty's conduct has been calculated to inspire, and which we have been long accustomed to entertain. The danger from which we have escaped gives us a quicker sense of the present blessing; and we are particularly thankful that no interruption has been given to those measures which your Majesty was pursuing with so much vigour and success for the dignity and prosperity of your kingdom."

The interest taken by Mr Graham in the House of Commons' debates at this crisis is shown in a letter to Mr Smyth, of the next day's date:—

"LONDON, *Jan.* 21, 1789.

"I saw the Duke of Atholl last night. He assured me that he knew nothing more of the address than that Drummond of Perth was stirring in it; but whether by any instigation from *this* he had not heard. . . . I send you a newspaper with the account of the last debate, much more faithfully reported than by Woodfall, who is notoriously partial, and not only omits but changes most material passages in the Opposition speeches. Perhaps this paper may be accused of doing the same by the Ministerial speeches, in which case both are necessary to have a fair report. There is less justice than usual done to Fox's speech in this paper, owing to the length of the preceding speeches. As far as it goes, however, it is pretty accurate. But of a speech of near two hours, and in which he did not leave an argument (however weak or little to the purpose) of the speeches on the other side unanswered, you may believe there must be but a very imperfect report in four columns of a newspaper. I do not suppose he ever made a speech more universally admired for argument, candour, and ability, by every-

body in the House; but it did not make *one vote.* Impressions, however, of such a speech remain on men's minds, otherwise such powers of oratory would not be so necessary as they are for a great statesman.—Adieu. Pray write to me soon, and believe me ever most sincerely and faithfully yours,

"T. GRAHAM."

It is evident from these letters that Mr Graham's sentiments were at this time more favourable to Mr Fox than to his great rival then at the helm of affairs. In the years that followed his views underwent very considerable modification, owing partly to his intimacy with the Duke of Atholl and his political relations with the county of Perth, and in part, probably, to the events of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr Graham, after the death of his wife, travels—Visits Gibraltar—Letters—Joins the British force engaged in the defence of Toulon—Aide-de-camp to Lord Mulgrave—Napoleon at Toulon—Captain Hill—Mr Graham raises the 90th Regiment—"Graham's Grey-breeks"—Has the rank of colonel in the army conferred upon him.

THE death of his wife made a complete change in Mr Graham's associations and habits of life. His country pursuits and avocations lost their power to please and to engage him. After a short stay in Scotland and London in the winter of 1792, leaving his mother, Lady Christian, at Balgowan, he resolved to travel and thereby allay the distraction of his mind. Early in 1793 he arranged to proceed to Gibraltar with a Government ship, war being now formally declared by the French Convention against England. He writes to his friend Mr Smyth (about this time become a Lord of Session) as follows :—

"CAME, NEAR DORCHESTER,
Feb. 11, 1793.

". . . I must begin by congratulating you, as I understood from good authority in London that you would certainly succeed Lord Gardenstone. You will believe me very sincere in assuring you none of your friends will rejoice more at your appointment. Though you cannot give *legal* advice after that, I trust you will frequently see my mother during my absence and give her friendly counsel in any case of difficulty. . . . I have been here for some days with Mr Damer on my way to Plymouth, where I shall go to-morrow to meet Lord St Helen's, who is at last sent off (on a diplomatic mission to Spain). The uncertainty hitherto has detained him these three weeks; he is to land at Corunna, but I shall probably go on with General O'Hara to Gibraltar. We sail in the Assistance, a 50-gun ship, so that I hope there is little chance of our being taken. I mean to get a passage in one of our frigates from Gibraltar up the Mediterranean to Genoa or Leghorn, if they dare venture to show themselves in a sea where the French are so superior to us. I hope to return through

Switzerland and Germany so as to be back in June. If I have not time to write to Oswald, pray tell him I intended it, but I have still many business letters to finish. God bless you.—Ever yours,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

Some days after, he writes again (Feb. 14, 1793) to Lord Methven from Plymouth :—

". . . Our ship is detained by contrary winds in Torbay, and I don't know when we shall get away. I hope Government will press *sailors*, without which the fleet will never be half-manned, the *volunteers* being good for nothing. Every preparation for war is extremely backward, and this place so defenceless that a few French might easily destroy it; it is to be hoped they will not make the attempt.—Adieu.

"*P.S.*—I cannot help telling you an anecdote, undoubtedly true, of the Duke of Richmond's economy, which is fit for the stage, if such paltry things might not be of serious consequence. The commanding officer here represented to him the total want of artillerymen for the batteries, and proposed to have

leave to train some of the militia expected to the use of cannon; and as they might have occasion to fire at ships, mentioned getting a large buoy or floating object in the sea as a mark to shoot at. The Duke approved of the idea, and gave leave for *twenty* shot to be fired at a mark, but against a bank on shore, that the shot might not be lost."

Perhaps his Grace of Richmond thought that as volunteer artillerymen, like children, must walk before they run, it was as well to begin with a little land practice.

Mr Graham soon after this sailed for Gibraltar, where he remained some time waiting the arrival of the British fleet under Lord Hood, to proceed up the Gulf of Genoa. He made a tour in the interim in Spain and Barbary, on his return from which he writes to Lord Methven :—

"GIBRALTAR, *June* 3, 1793.

"The post has been so uncertain to and from this place that I may fairly plead that excuse for not writing to you long ago. I take the safe opportunity, however, of sending you a few lines by Colonel Hope, who leaves

this in a day or two. I wish I could say I was to do the same, but after waiting so long for Lord Hood's arrival I am determined not to change my resolution of going up the Mediterranean with his fleet, and shall therefore wait on till he comes. I have been cruising lately with Captain Hope since my return from Spain and Barbary, and now regret I did not prolong my tour in Spain, which at the time (six weeks ago) I was afraid to do for fear of not getting back in time to go up with the fleet. No ship of war has been sent to the eastward since the war began, so that I have no means of getting into Italy as I wished at first; and now, as the season is far advanced, I shall not have time to travel there, but shall stay some weeks with the fleet to see their operations, and then make the best of my way down the Rhine. You cannot expect any news from this sequestered corner of the world. We are amused with a variety of reports which, however improbable, generally gain credit here for twenty-four hours. The Spaniards seem to a man very zealous in this war, which they look on almost as a crusade. Their Government have made great exertions. They had, the other

day when I was at Cadiz in the Bull-dog, fifteen ships of the line ready for sea, supposed to be destined for the West Indies, and at the same time they had a fleet of 22 or 24 sail of the line at sea in the Mediterranean, — not very anxious, however, to look for the French, as they cruise near their own coasts, and it is said they are returned to Carthagena. We have no authentic accounts of the state of the French fleet at Toulon. They have about 30 or 32 sail of the line afloat there, but most people think they cannot send more than one half of that number to sea, in which case they will not venture to come out when our fleet goes aloft. Nobody knows anything of the plans which Lord Hood will follow, not even whether there will be any joint operations with the Spanish fleet; but the Spaniards join with us in thinking that our ministers have been very dilatory in sending out the squadron, as two of the best months of the year in these seas have been lost, and meanwhile the French have been carrying on a quiet trade to the Levant, and providing themselves with large supplies of corn and stores from all the coasts of the Mediterranean without the least interruption. I have met with infinite atten-

tion and civility here from the garrison, and was at first delighted with the place; but having nothing to do, I have begun lately to look on it as a kind of prison, and am grown very impatient to be gone. I am to sail in the Egmont, Captain Dickson, who came here some time ago with Admiral Gell. We have in all, in this bay, three admirals, each in a 3-decker, and 4 seventy-fours, besides frigates. Among these last is the Iris (32), Captain Lumsdaine, who was on the point of taking a forty-gun French frigate, after a severe action when he lost all his masts and must have been taken himself had the Frenchman been less completely beat. I suppose the account of this first action of the war will be published in the papers." . . .

When Lord Hood, admiral of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, sailed at last from Gibraltar for the south of France, with a force having for its object to assist the royalist population of Toulon, it was arranged that Mr Graham, who was well acquainted with the French coast, should accompany Lord Hood as a volunteer. He landed with the British troops, about 5000 in number, and on the

arrival of General Lord Mulgrave in the beginning of September to take command of the troops, acted in the defence of the place as one of his aides-de-camp. The forts of the city and neighbouring heights were occupied by the English and an allied force of Spanish and others.

In the numerous encounters that took place with the French besieging army, Mr Graham was actively engaged; and on one occasion when a private soldier fell at the head of an attacking column, he took up the soldier's musket and supplied his place in the front rank.* On the 30th September the French having got possession of an important fort, Lord Mulgrave attacked and drove them back in the face of great difficulties. In the general order issued next day he refers to the services of his aide-de-camp in the following terms:—

"Lord Mulgrave begs leave on this occasion to express his grateful sense of the friendly and important assistance which he has received in many difficult moments from Mr Graham, and to add his tribute of praise to the general

* Royal Military Chronicle, June 1811; Rivington's Annual Register, 1793, p. 413.

voice of all the British and Piedmontese officers of his column who saw with so much pleasure and applause the gallant example which Mr Graham set to the whole column in the foremost point of every attack." *

After the operations of the siege had proceeded some length, and General O'Hara had succeeded Lord Mulgrave in the command of the troops, the chief command of the French batteries was given to an officer of artillery, then first made *chef de bataillon*, Napoleon Buonaparte, whose potent star now rose above the horizon.

The varying events of the siege it is unnecessary to refer to. Mr Graham continued to take an active part in the defence. In Las Casas' Journal it is recorded of Napoleon at Toulon that "being one day in a battery where one of the gunners was killed, he seized the rammer, and with his own hand loaded ten or twelve times." Under his direction the whole force of the besiegers was turned against certain forts and outworks on the heights above Toulon which commanded the town and harbour; and these having been taken after severe fighting, the British fleet, with the

* Royal Military Chronicle, June 1811, p. 105.

troops and many refugees on board, quitted the place, which then fell into the hands of the Republicans. The siege and taking of Toulon was regarded by Buonaparte as his first historical achievement.*

It is not unworthy of mention that at the siege of Toulon Lord Hill, then Captain Hill, acting as aide-de-camp successively to Lord Mulgrave and General O'Hara, greatly distinguished himself. Graham and he then formed an acquaintance which, as we shall immediately see, had a marked influence on the fortunes of Hill. And thus at an early period of Napoleon's career the chance of war brought almost in personal contact with him the two general officers who in the campaign of Vittoria, so fatal to his power, led the right and left wings of the British army.

Being now fairly initiated in practical warfare and inspired with military ardour, Mr Graham, on his return home, solicited permission from Government to raise a regiment of light infantry. To this subject the following letter to Lord Methven from London, January 26th, 1794, refers. One may also see from it that he was now meditating an entry

* Las Casas, i. 138; iv. 255.

in due time into Parliament as member for Perthshire in place of General Murray, whose health was failing.

"I am in daily expectation of hearing decisively concerning my proposal; indeed, if I am not allowed to start fair with several others who are to raise regiments in Scotland, it would be absurd in me to attempt it.* I have not taken my final determination either concerning the other plan which I have talked to the Duke [of Atholl] of, but I wish first to be off or on concerning the regiment, that I may have my *conscience nette*, and that, whatever people may say, I may know that the probability of my coming into Parliament does not influence in this business.—Adieu."

The permission to raise the regiment was soon after this obtained from the War Office. With characteristic energy Mr Graham set himself immediately (with the assistance of Graham of Fintry and one or two other friends) to raising a regiment of foot, after-

* Mr Graham, in this passage of his letter, refers to the raising of the Argyllshire, Gordon, and Sutherland Highlanders, afterwards the 91st, 92d, and 93d of the line.

wards the 90th Regiment, of which he was appointed colonel commandant on the 10th of February 1794.* About this time he issued the following address or intimation on the subject of the regiment:—

"*To the Inhabitants of the County of Perth.*

"Being desirous that the regiment which I have undertaken to raise, and which I am to have the honour to command, should bear the name of a county I am so much attached to, I have obtained his Majesty's leave that it should be called *The Perthshire Volunteers.* While I flatter myself that the corps will prove worthy of so distinguished a name, allow me to hope that it will find, in the spirit of the young men of the county and the zeal of the recruits, that preference and support which may make up for the want of the extensive influence which patronises the other corps now raising. I need not assure all able-bodied volunteers that they will be received by the commanding officer at the headquar-

* Royal Military Chronicle, June 1811; obituary notice of Lord Lynedoch in 'Times,' December 20, 1843.

ters at Perth with the greatest attention, and will meet with the most liberal treatment.—I am, with sincere regard, your devoted servant,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

The recruits were not solely Perthshire men, but were of all sorts of people, and from various quarters. Recruiting parties were established in England at Leicester and Nottingham. They were at first very indifferently clad, and were known in the neighbourhood of Perth (from the colour of their trousers) as "Graham's Grey-breeks." Some were inclined to compare them to Falstaff's recruits, as being mere "food for powder." We shall see that, in the course of a few years, they proved themselves in Egypt to be something more.

In forming the 90th Regiment, Colonel Graham did not receive much encouragement from the Duke of York, commanding in chief; and little attention was paid in after-years to his recommendations for commissions in it.* Having made the acquaintance and witnessed

* Edinburgh Annual Register, 1811, p. 287; Private letters.

the good conduct of Captain Hill at Toulon, he offered Hill the majority of the regiment on raising a certain quota of men. This offer was accepted. The regiment was subsequently augmented to a thousand strong, when Major Hill became its lieutenant-colonel on the usual terms.

CHAPTER V.

Mr Graham's relations with the various political "interests" in the county of Perth—Correspondence with reference to his representing Perthshire—His plan of operations—Is unanimously elected member for the county.

When Mr Graham contested Perthshire in 1772 with Colonel Murray of Strowan, he was supported by what was termed the "independent interest," while his opponent had with him the "Atholl interest," then and for some years afterwards predominant in the county. Graham becoming, as we have seen, connected by marriage, and subsequently by personal friendship, with the Duke of Atholl, gradually desisted, with a forbearance not unnatural in the circumstances, from his opposition to the Duke's party in the county; and at the general elections in 1774, 1780, and 1784, Colonel Murray was returned without a contest. In the year 1789, however, the

"independent party" took steps again for asserting themselves. Some private offers of support seem then to have been made to Graham; but it was understood that the party had pitched upon Drummond of Megginch as their candidate,—and in fact he was so at the general election in June 1790. On this occasion Graham was one of a majority of 67 freeholders who voted for General Murray, 38 voting for Drummond.

In thus supporting the Duke's candidate, Mr Graham kept still in view his early-formed project of representing the county, and laid his plans very carefully for taking advantage of the vacancy which General Murray's precarious state of health rendered probable at no distant period.

Early in 1794, General Murray's health getting worse, his retirement became imminent.

The intention, on the part of Colonel Graham and his immediate friends, that he should stand for the county, being already matured although not made public, the following letters have more or less reference to the proceedings for carrying this intention into execution, notices occasionally occurring as to the business of recruiting for the regiment.

"LONDON, NEROT'S HOTEL,
Feb. 24, 1794.

"MY DEAR SMYTH, — On considering the subject of my last letter, it seems to me to be absolutely necessary for me to act so as not to have the appearance of taking the county by surprise. I think it is equally the real interest of the Duke's family not to attempt anything that should seem not to leave the county perfectly free to make an independent choice. I suspected, however, from the General's conversation and the injunctions of secrecy, that they had different views; and I went down this morning with a view of talking the matter over with the Duke. I met him, and stopped a moment in his carriage, and shortly mentioned my ideas, saying, that it appeared to me in every view proper that I should speak to Lord Breadalbane and Lord Kinnoull before I leave London. I am to see him to-morrow on this business; but my suspicions were rather strengthened than removed by his saying only—he would consider of it. I am quite determined not to expose myself to a serious opposition at the next general election merely to secure having none at present. If they choose to take

advantage of my communicating this intelligence to them, and start somebody else now, I think I shall have the best chance of success, and shall, at all events, deserve it more than if I acted otherwise; and my recruiting will be an excuse for a very short and general canvass. . . . . I cannot leave this sooner than Friday; and if this business does not press, I shall stop for establishing recruiting parties by the way."

Colonel Graham's well-laid plan for *taking* the county of Perth, as he might have done a besieged town, was now ready for execution, and everything prepared. The notes to Lord Methven that follow refer to what is impending:—

"NEROT'S, *Feb.* 26, 1794.

"Things now seem in a good train. I could not see the Duke [of Atholl] yesterday, and therefore wrote him a letter stating what I thought was the best policy for him, and what I thought absolutely necessary for myself to do. I have been with him and the General this morning. The General has left everything to us to settle in our own way,

and the Duke agrees to my ideas of giving a general and public notice to everybody at once of the General's intentions. We are to meet again to-morrow, and I suppose his address to the county will very soon follow. I shall, at the same time, speak to Lord Breadalbane, Lord Kinnoull, &c., and write letters to everybody in the newspapers, in which I shall state the impossibility of my waiting on them all immediately, owing to my engagements about raising the regiment. By all this I shall avoid any imputation of surprise; and should any opponent start, I must then canvass in earnest. It will be of material consequence that nobody suspects that even you know of all this; and you are the only person to whom a word has been or will be said till the *éclat*."

. . . .

"*Feb.* 27, 1794.

"The Duke and I have agreed this morning on a public letter for the General, to be inserted in the London morning papers and Edinburgh papers, and on a written one to be sent to each freeholder. I believe these will be ready to go by Saturday's post, or if not, by Monday's. In the evening papers of

the same day in which General Murray's public letter will appear, my declaration of being a candidate will be printed, so as to go to Scotland by the same post with his. I think this is the best arrangement, to take fair advantage of my situation of confidence with the Duke, without the possibility of being accused of anything improper, — as, in fact, you are the only individual who will know anything of the matter till it is known publicly."

"NEROT'S, *Friday, Feb.* 28, 1794.

"Owing to unavoidable delays, the General's letters cannot be ready before Monday at soonest, so that it will be by that day's post or Tuesday that all will be sent, and the day before I shall take some steps to communicate my intentions to Lords Kinnoull and Breadalbane; and I hope this secret will be so well kept, if the General does not tell G. Stewart or some such person, that the effect will be the same as if he had carried it into immediate execution on the first communication with me. I think him seriously ill; and most probably a vacancy, at all events, would have happened before long, as his cough and breathlessness indicate some affection of his

lungs, which can scarcely be got the better of at his time of life, considering that his wound must have produced adhesions, &c. I shall leave London the day after this explosion; but having made arrangements to call at several manufacturing towns by the way to establish recruiting parties, I shall not be able to make a rapid journey. You will do what you can to satisfy people of the necessity I was under of attending to these engagements, made before I knew anything of this business, in order to prevent any use being made of my being accused of treating the county with neglect, as if I was quite sure of success owing to the Duke's support. I shall allude in my public address to the former support I received, as laying in a claim for the continuance of it now. And that this may not be objected to by the General or the Duke, I do not mean to show them the letter I intend to send to the newspapers, feeling that in doing this I do nothing they can have any right to object to. . . . I mean to communicate my intentions to Mr Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville) the day before the General's letters are ready, merely saying that I hope I shall not be opposed by Government. I

am to carry a letter from the General to him, which will be the first intimation of his intention to vacate his seat that Ministers will have. If it were to be done sooner, the thing would be known and talked of long before it ought to be. Adieu. I have a bad cold, and my head horribly unfit for all I have to do.—Ever most sincerely yours,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

In the first days of March the letters and addresses were made public.* He writes from Nerot's, 3d March 1794:—

"MY DEAR SMYTH,—I have just written a short note to Graham [Fintry] to beg he

* Colonel Graham's Address was as follows: "General Murray having declared his intention of vacating his seat in Parliament immediately, I beg leave to offer myself as a candidate to represent the county of Perth. The recollection of the support I received when I formerly aspired to that honour will, I trust, justify my presumption in hoping to be favoured with your suffrages on this occasion. Should I be so fortunate as to succeed, I shall endeavour to prove not unworthy of your choice by a faithful discharge of the important trust reposed in me. Though I solicit the honour of your votes and interest in this public manner, both my inclination and my duty would lead me to pay my personal respects to every freeholder without a moment's delay; but as the business of raising my regiment is so urgent, I trust that any omissions will be imputed only to my anxiety to complete the Perthshire Volunteers as quickly as possible."

would meet you, and that you would give, together, any directions that occur to J. Græme* and Farquhar, whom you can send for. Lord Breadalbane has not declared his intentions; but unless he was to be warmly supported by Government, which is most improbable, I daresay he will not think of opposition,—though, under pretence of consulting the independent interest, he may think it proper to wait. Lord Kinnoull said at once that he had so often recommended me to that interest, that there was no occasion to delay his approbation. . . . I wish you joy of Sir James's [Pulteney's] marriage. He has promised to speak to Mr Pulteney for me.

"*P.S.*—Lord Kinnoull has just been with me, and says that Lord Breadalbane told him probably some person would start, but that he was not at liberty to name him."

General Murray's public letter to the freeholders intimated, in general terms, his retirement from the representation of the county on the ground of his health.

The Duke of Atholl wrote letters to his

* Colonel Graham's relative and law agent.

friends in favour of Mr Graham, the following being his Grace's letter to Lord Methven :—

"LONDON, *March* 3, 1794.

"DEAR SIR,—My uncle General Murray (on account of the failure of his health) feels, with regret, the impossibility of his further attendance in Parliament. For the honour, the interest, and the happiness of the county of Perth, I bear the warmest good wishes; and it gives me the highest satisfaction to find that that honour, that interest, and that happiness, will still continue to be most zealously and anxiously promoted by Mr Graham of Balgowan, my first friend, coming forward as a candidate for your favour.—I remain, dear sir, yours sincerely, ATHOLL."

To Lord Methven the Duke of Montrose also wrote as follows :—

"LONDON, *March* 4, 1794.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have pleasure in thinking that our friend Graham stands forward for Perthshire, and wish I could afford him as effectual support as you, I think, will

have pleasure in doing. The post is just going out; but I would not deprive myself of the pleasure of writing you a line on the subject.—Yours sincerely, MONTROSE."

On the 4th of March Mr Graham writes from Nerot's :—

"MY DEAR SMYTH,—Though the King lowers a little, I hope the storm will blow over. Lord Breadalbane told Lord Kinnoull yesterday that probably somebody would start, but that he was not at liberty to name the person. I thought this might only be a threat, and wishing to show people the attention of consulting them; but I rather think to-day there is some serious intention of opposition. Mr Dundas has written to me that he will take *no* part. I am satisfied with that declaration, provided it is fairly kept up to. The Duke is not much pleased, and has said so, which has not produced a *more* favourable disposition. Things being in this state, it is of some consequence that no idea of my being opposed by Government should be propagated by the other side. On that account I have got the Chancellor (Lord Loughborough),

the Duke of Montrose, and Captain Payne for the Prince of Wales, to write to different people, which will come round and show that no hostility is intended, and that, on the contrary, I am supported by people connected with and wishing well to Government. This is all I desire, and I could not stand on a footing more to my mind, as I wish for nothing more than coming in on the *most independent* way. Can Lord B. pretend, with any shadow of justice, that I am no longer to be looked on as a fit object to be supported by the independent interest in the county, because I am supported by the Duke of Atholl? I think you will prevent such dust being thrown into any eyes but those who wish to be blinded by it. There is a report in town—but so strange that I cannot credit it—that Mr Dundas had had views of our county for his son, and that Lord Breadalbane would have supported him. I don't think Lord B. would establish his credit among the real independents by such a choice; but the thing is so ridiculous to my mind that I cannot credit it; and yet there is evidently a degree of *humour* on account of the abrupt way in which this vacancy happens, and which the

Duke very properly said could not be avoided in this case. I don't mean this to be mentioned to anybody. If there is a contest, I must try to get some of my friends to take the management of it; for I don't see how I can possibly undertake a canvass without neglecting the raising of my regiment, which is much the most material object of the two.* Adieu.—Ever yours, T. G."

It is evident from the previous letters that Mr Graham was, on the occasion of his election at this time, steering very cautiously between the rival political interests of the county —the Atholl family on the one side, and the independent interest on the other;

> "Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis Obsidet."

The early stand he had taken on the independent interest in 1772, and his subsequent personal connection and friendship with the Duke, coupled with his long-cherished desire to get into Parliament, placed him in a position requiring considerable delicacy of management.

* This letter is franked by the Duke of Atholl.

The following is the letter he addressed to the Earl of Breadalbane :—

"NEROT'S HOTEL, *March* 4, 1794.

"MY LORD,—Though I do not presume to press your lordship to any declaration of your sentiments, yet I will not leave town without troubling you with this letter on the subject of my having offered myself a candidate on this occasion, which I am confident cannot, in justice, expose me to any blame whatever, either of obtruding absurd pretensions on the county, or in the slightest degree betraying the interests of those who wish for its real independence, as I have always professed myself to do. At a very early period of my life I was honoured with such a support as nearly carried the election in my favour against General Murray *protected* by the most powerful Ministerial influence exerted with uncommon zeal on that occasion, and (strange to say) assisted by the weight of a party associated many years before for the avowed purpose of rescuing the county from the thraldom of Ministerial influence and of the family of Atholl, but which, unfortunately, at that period was guided by the late Mr Drummond

of Megginch, whose contracts cramped his natural inclination for independence. I never forgot the impression I felt by observing such a complete dereliction of all the principles on which that association had acted for near thirty years at the only time when they had it in their power to have triumphed over the two formidable objects of their jealousy united; and ever since I have been cautious in my belief concerning the real sentiments of those who profess a greater share of independence than every gentleman of honour must possess. Since that time, various circumstances contributed to prevent my wishing to disturb the peace of the county wantonly; and when flattering overtures were made me, I had strong reasons for declining entering into a contest with General Murray, even if these offers of support had not been accompanied with a kind of political test which I never could have submitted to on any occasion, and which made them quite impossible. But I can with truth assert that I never quite lost sight of the early object of my ambition, and, consistent with the principles I maintained and on which I wished at some future period to be entitled to support, I resisted all solici-

tations when pressed to take an *active* part for General Murray during the late contest. I can therefore, with some degree of confidence, appeal to my conduct as the best test of my sentiments; and I cannot allow it to be said, without a positive denial, that because I have the advantage of the material support which the Duke of Atholl's influence must have in the county—which it was natural for him to give and for me to expect—I am not an independent candidate. I feel that I have never done anything to forfeit that character, and that from my particular situation and former connection with the county, I have some right to expect many of the most independent freeholders will give me their support on that ground, though my declaration has been made without any concert with them (which I certainly should have preferred, as affording me great additional security, had it been possible); and at all events I am sure I shall not lose their support from the idea of my having acted improperly, though from circumstances another candidate may be preferred. It would give me great concern not to receive the honour of your lordship's material support; but I cannot help flattering myself that, if not

prevented by prior engagements, your lordship may be inclined to think that the cause of independence in the county will rather be hurt by splitting that interest which, if united, may always maintain it.*—I have the honour to be, &c., THOS. GRAHAM."

From the Earl of Kinnoull Colonel Graham received an unhesitating promise of support :—

"UPPER HARLEY STREET,
March 5, 1794.

"MY DEAR SIR, — As you have offered yourself as a candidate for the county of Perth, on the sudden and unexpected vacancy of General Murray (who has retired from Parliament on account of his ill health), and desired my good wishes to you on this occasion, I most readily give them to you; but beg leave shortly to state my reasons for so doing, in respect of the county, yourself, and me. I have ever declared my decided opinion to support the independence of the county against any particular overruling interest, and

* To a copy of this letter (in the possession of William Smythe, Esq. of Methven) is appended the following note, in Colonel Graham's handwriting: "A short letter of the same tendency was sent to Lord Kinnaird. No answer from either."

my wish, as much as possible consistent with that principle, at all times to promote the peace of the county. Presuming from your declarations that you stand, with respect to the county, perfectly independent—not set up by any family interest, but offering yourself with those pretensions which the sentiments and support of a respectable part of the county on former occasions have, I think, very fairly justified, and presuming that you stand as independent also with respect to your parliamentary line of conduct—I shall certainly express to my friends in the county my warmest wishes for your support on the present occasion; and am ever, my dear sir, with unfeigned respect and esteem, your faithful friend and servant,

"DRUMMOND HAY KINNOULL.

"THOMAS GRAHAM of Balgowan, Esq."

On his journey to Scotland, Colonel Graham stopped a few days at Nottingham, one of his recruiting stations. In the following letter to Lord Methven is the first indication of a tendency to an inflammatory complaint in his eyes, with which he was afterwards troubled more or less all his lifetime:—

"NOTTINGHAM, *Monday Evening, March* 10, 1794.

"MY DEAR SMYTH,—My progress has been retarded by my cold, which required nursing; and I have been prevented from writing by its having occasioned an inflammation in my eyes. I had, besides, much recruiting business to settle at Leicester. I shall be detained here to-morrow morning in the same way, and only get to Sheffield in the evening, and probably no farther than Wakefield the next day. After that I hope to get on, but do not expect to be in Edinburgh sooner than Friday evening, perhaps not till Saturday, as I may meet with further delays about recruiting, and at all events cannot travel very rapidly, as I still feel much heated, not having recovered the proper degree of insensible perspiration, which has been obstructed ever since I caught this cold three weeks ago. I enclose you a copy of a letter which I sent to Lord Bread-albane [quoted above] the day before I left London. Perhaps some part of the second page had, in prudence, been better omitted; but I had heard that these two lords (Bread-albane and Kinnaird) had been trying about for a candidate, and I did not feel at all

inclined to disguise my sentiments to them. And I hope the real independent freeholders of the county will not easily be bamboozled by them into thinking that nothing can deserve the name of independence except what receives their benediction. I likewise send you Lord Kinnoull's letter to me [quoted above], and should wish you to show both these letters to *proper* people, but not allow mine to be copied, as I was obliged to talk a little porridge about the Atholl family, &c., which I should not particularly wish to be handed about at present, though I told the Duke I had treated them with a complete dish of independence. I think their conduct will show what their real sentiments on that subject are. Lord Kinnoull told me they did not mean to oppose me (because they could not find a candidate), and that they would write so to me. Perhaps my letter has given such offence that they will change their minds. I cannot help it, if it is so; and I shall still hope for the support of many of those who really are independent. I am afraid there are many letters that I should have written myself; but I really cannot yet, on account of my eyes. As far as you can, let this ex-

cuse be known, and pray tell my mother and Graham (of Fintry) that I don't write to them on that account. I should wish, if possible, to bring about, without my appearing too much in it (though I should certainly subscribe very liberally), that any encouragement given to my recruiting in the county should be by creating a fund for the relief of the families of inhabitants of the county who enlist. I think it would be of more use than anything else, and is certainly a better application of money than increasing the bounties. Adieu. —Ever yours, T. G."

In the ensuing month of April Colonel Graham was unanimously elected, on the retirement of General Murray, member of Parliament for the shire of Perth, thus obtaining the fulfilment of what had been his desire for more than twenty years.

His entry into Parliament in this way was, beyond all doubt, a material step to him in public life. He was now, however, thoroughly imbued with the military spirit, and had attained, upon raising the 90th Regiment, an acknowledged rank in the army. The brocard *cedant arma togæ* was therefore, with him, re-

versed in its meaning; and the prospect of a very active and strenuous parliamentary or civil career gave way to military aspirations. The course of his life's ambition had now got into the groove of the army. "The world is mine oyster," he may have said to himself, "and I with sword will open it."

CHAPTER VI.

The 90th Regiment—Colonel Graham's address to it on presenting the colours—With the Austrian army in the north of Italy—Shut up in Mantua with Würmser—Carries intelligence to the Austrian General Alvinzi—His services in the reduction of Minorca—In Italy and Naples—Takes an important part in the conquest of Malta—The 90th Regiment in Egypt—Addresses moved in the county of Perth.

In the beginning of June 1795 the 90th Regiment was in the south of England, at Winchester, being appointed to form part of Lord Moira's army, then encamped on Netley Common. On the 4th of this month, George III.'s birthday, Colonel Graham presented the colours of the first battalion, addressing the regiment in the following animated speech :—

"Officers and fellow-soldiers,—I have chosen to deliver the colours of the regiment into your custody on this day, because I wished it should be marked in every man's

remembrance by its being the anniversary of the birth of our most gracious sovereign. The sentiments of loyalty to the king, and of attachment to these standards, blended with the happy enthusiasm on this day of national joy, will, I hope, for ever remain engraven on your hearts. The defence of these colours is a sacred trust, which I need not dwell on. The honour of the regiment is in your hands, and depends on the exertion of your attention, perseverance, and courage. But courage is the growth of the soil of Great Britain; cowardice and slavery are alike unknown in these happy isles, the natural bravery of whose sons is cherished and confirmed by the fostering hand of freedom. When I look at this chosen land, can I doubt that the truest spirit of heroism pervades these ranks? Who would not devote himself rather than abandon these banners? Who would not be ready to spill the last drop of his blood in defence of that glorious constitution which equally secures the rights of the people and the throne of the king? Should I have the honour of leading you into the field in the face of an enemy, I am sure there will be more occasion to temper your ardour than to animate your courage.

But I am anxious that this courage should be assisted and guided by the most perfect discipline; and I trust that no man who thinks himself worthy of belonging to the 90th Regiment will grudge the pains that must be taken in order to arrive at that perfection. You must be distinguished not only in appearance, but in reality. It is highly gratifying to me to be at the head of such a body of men, on whose exertions as good soldiers I can rely with so much confidence. Accept of my best thanks for your past conduct. We shall soon be in company with other troops. Let it be your constant object to excel. I wish not only to be proud of you, but to owe you my gratitude and affection."

The regiment was soon after this sent to Isle Dieu, and thence, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, to remain in garrison at Gibraltar. It was there joined by Colonel Graham early in 1796.

A long continuance of garrison duty did not suit his active habits and enterprising spirit. His mind required more stirring occupation and a fresh field of activity. Permission was obtained for him at the War Office to join the

Austrian army under Würmser in the north of Italy, as a British officer in connection with the service; and in the summer and autumn of that year he sent to the British Government intelligence of the military operations of the German allied army, his written communications evincing no ordinary talent and force.* When with Würmser's staff in the neighbourhood of Mantua, he rode a mare of the country, to whose leaping of a wall upon one occasion he attributed the saving of his life. This mare he took home with him and kept at Lynedoch. It was known as the "Mantua mare," and was an excellent fencer.

Army after army of the Austrians having disappeared before the redoubtable "Army of Italy," led by Napoleon, towards the close of the campaign Colonel Graham was shut up with Marshal Würmser in Mantua. That fortress being reduced to the last extremity from scarcity of provisions, Würmser resolved in the end of December to send a despatch informing Alvinzi, commander of the sole remaining Austrian army, of the desperate situation of the besieged. Colonel Graham volunteered to carry it. On the 24th December,

* Rivington's Annual Register, 1796.

at nightfall, in a storm of sleet, he set out from Mantua, wearing an Italian mantle over his colonel's uniform. Surmounting by the use of muffled oars and breathless silence the obstacles of water-courses, dykes, and the river Po, and escaping by address and acquaintance with the French tongue the vigilance of the patrols, he passed all the French lines, and reached on the 4th of January the headquarters of the Austrian commander at Bassano. He posted directly on to Vienna, where he suddenly appeared, to the surprise of all, at the house of the British ambassador, Lord Henley, who was entertaining a party; and for a week or two he was the lion of Vienna.*

The battle of Rivoli and the surrender of Mantua followed soon after.

From Vienna Colonel Graham returned to

* A curious accident befell what was possibly the answer to Würmser's despatch. Prior to the battle of Rivoli, a German, bearing an autograph letter of the Emperor Francis to that general, enclosed in a ball of sealing-wax not much bigger than a hazel-nut, was seized by a sentinel as he was clearing the last post of the French army before Mantua. He swallowed the letter on being captured, but by medical means it was recovered and placed in the hands of Napoleon, who, finding that a certain route had been recommended to Alvinzi with a view to relieve Mantua, marched with his troops in the direction indicated, and defeated him at Rivoli.—O'Meara's Napoleon at St Helena; Las Casas' Journal.

England to attend to his duties in Parliament; visiting in summer his constituents in Perthshire, and his lawns and woods on the banks of the Almond. He never resided at Balgowan after his wife's death for any length of time.

In autumn 1797 he returned to Gibraltar, whence in the following year he accompanied his regiment, as part of the force under General Sir Charles Stuart, to assist in the attack of Minorca. His services in the reduction of Minorca, and subsequently in the island of Sicily, are mentioned in the following terms in a work published some years ago detailing those transactions: *—

"After the debarkation of the troops, innumerable difficulties opposed themselves to their operations. There is not in any part of Europe to be found a greater variety of natural obstacles to an invading army than in this island. Reports from deserters and others, contradictory in their purport, rendered General Stuart for a short time irresolute what course to pursue. He, however, resolved to

* Obituary notice in 'Times,' Dec. 20, 1843. I have been unable to find the work quoted in this notice.

proceed by a forced march to Mercadel, and, by possessing that essential post, to separate the enemy's force. To effect this object, Colonel Graham was sent with 600 men, and, by dint of the utmost effort, arrived at Mercadel a very few hours after the main body of the enemy had marched towards Candarello. Here he made a considerable number of prisoners, seized several depots of ammunition, &c., and established his corps in front of the village. The reduction of Minorca (Nov. 15, 1798) being completed, Colonel Graham repaired to Sicily, where he employed himself in the service, and for the assistance, of its legitimate monarch; and such were his exertions, that he received repeated acknowledgments and tributes of gratitude and esteem from the King and Queen of Naples."*

The island of Malta, then under the effete government of the Knights of Malta, had been taken by Napoleon Bonaparte, June 12, 1798, on his voyage to Egypt in that year. The Maltese, oppressed by the French, having called for the aid of England, a blockade of

* Among Lord Lynedoch's κειμηλια was an enamelled box presented to him by the Queen of Naples.

the fortress by sea and land was undertaken by the British forces. Colonel Graham commanded in this operation, with the local rank of brigadier-general, having in his command the 30th and 89th regiments, and some corps embodied under his immediate direction. The western portion of the island was occupied by these troops, which were in number sufficient to prevent supplies being sent in to the garrison, and for skirmishing and observation. The blockade and investment having continued nearly two years, the means of subsistence of the besieged became exhausted, and in September 1800 the place surrendered. Major-General Pigott had been sent out not long before with reinforcements, and to him the surrender was made. In General Pigott's despatch (5th September 1800) reporting the surrender, he specially refers to "the great exertions which Brigadier-General Graham must have made with the limited force he had, previous to my arrival with a reinforcement. He has ever since continued these exertions; and I consider that the surrender of the place has been accelerated by the decision of his conduct, in preventing any more inhabitants coming out of the fortress, a short

time before I came here. He was sent to negotiate the terms of capitulation with General Vaubois; and I am much indebted to him for his assistance in that business."* The important fortress of Malta, as to which some difficulty occurred in the articles of the Peace of Amiens, was then, and has ever since continued, annexed to the British dominions. Colonel Graham returned soon after to England.

About this time the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby sailed for Egypt. The last months of 1800, and two months of 1801, were consumed in the voyage. Sir Ralph's army included the 90th Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hill; and in the successive actions of the landing in the Bay of Aboukir, Mandora, and Alexandria—the first contests in the war where the strength of the British and French troops was fairly measured—that regiment bore a distinguished part. It appears to have been remarked for its steadiness and disciplined courage in receiving and repelling at the point of the bay-

* Royal Military Chronicle, June 1811, p. 107. Colonel Graham received from the Maltese people a gift of a large silver salver.

onet the charges of French cavalry, on one occasion saving Sir Ralph Abercromby from being surrounded by the enemy.* The following letter of congratulation from Colonel Graham was received by Lieutenant-Colonel Hill in Egypt :—

"LONDON, *May* 23, 1801.

"DEAR HILL,—I rejoice to hear you are doing so well, and most sincerely congratulate you on the conduct of the regiment, which I never doubted would distinguish itself, though certainly the occasion was the most trying possible; and its behaviour has established its reputation for ever. I am extremely hurried, and have only time to request you will assure them all of the pride and satisfaction I have felt on this glorious occasion.—With the best and sincerest wishes, I remain ever most truly yours,† THOMAS GRAHAM."

* Annual Register, 1800, p. 229; Sidney's Life of Lord Hill, p. 39. The 90th then wore light brass helmets, and it has been stated on good authority that Colonel Hill's life was saved on one occasion by the brass rim of his helmet turning a musket-ball which would otherwise have killed him.

† The subsequent services of the 90th Regiment are recorded in military history, its gallant conduct in recent years in the Crimean War and in the Indian Mutiny fully sustaining its early honours in Egypt. In 1872 the colours of the regiment, tattered and worn, were deposited, with a military ceremonial (in which the magistrates and others took part), in the East

In the summer of 1801, Colonel Graham was again on shipboard in the Mediterranean, on his way to the seat of war in Egypt.* Arriving there after the French army had capitulated, he took the opportunity of making a tour in the Turkish dominions, staying some time at Constantinople. From Constantinople he went to Vienna, travelling on horseback,—a journey which in later life he recurred to as one of the most agreeable rides he had ever made. The Peace of Amiens followed shortly after, of which he availed himself to make a visit to Paris.

His constituents in Perthshire meanwhile were not unmindful of their representative and of his various services. In the interval previous to the recommencement of the war, at a general meeting in Perth, in October 1802, of the noblemen, commissioners of supply, heritors, &c., of the county, the Duke of Atholl being in the chair, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Colonel Graham "for his steady and uniform attention to the interests of the county when in

Church of Perth beside the monument erected there by the officers of the regiment to the memory of their comrades who fell in the Crimean War.

* Private letter, June 1801.

Parliament, and for his gallant and able conduct as an officer in the service of his king and country from the period of his having joined the army as a volunteer at the taking of Toulon to the conclusion of the late war, particularly while in command at Malta." It was further resolved, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the 90th Regiment or "Perthshire Volunteers," for their gallant conduct in the service of their country, Colonel Graham being requested to communicate to them the sense which the county entertains of their meritorious services.

Colonel Graham was present at this meeting, and directed attention to the propriety of introducing in Scotland a uniformity of weights and measures,—a matter of great practical importance which has since been the subject of various Acts of Parliament. He also referred to the unequal pressure of the malt-duty in Scotland, "whereby a boll of the poorest barley of the growth of Scotland, when converted into malt, pays the same share of the duty as a like quantity of the best English barley.*

* When, soon after the renewal of the war in 1803, the malt-duty was raised and became an important part of the

During the years that immediately followed the renewal of the war, Colonel Graham enjoyed, or rather endured, a period of comparative repose. The 90th Regiment was sent to Ireland in 1803, and then for a considerable period of years to the West Indies, whither he did not follow it. He attended to his civil duties in London and the country, carried on his improvements at Lynedoch, and had parties of friends visiting him in Scotland. His mother Lady Christian Græme had died in 1799. He was more than once at this time with friends in Ireland; and he paid another visit to Vienna, taking with him Mr Graham of Fintry's eldest son, to whom he was much attached. When at Vienna he became intimate with General, afterwards Marshal, Radetzski—a personal friendship which continued unbroken to the end of his life.

While on the Continent disasters were falling thickly upon the arms of Prussia and

revenue, the equity of charging the duty on the principle of weight seems to have been recognised; English malt being then charged a duty of 4s. 4d., malt of Scotch barley, 3s. 8d., and malt of Scotch bear or big, 3s. 0½d. per bushel.—(Encycl. Brit. 7th ed., Article "Brewing," p. 234.) A recent Act on the subject is the 28th and 29th Vict. c. 66, "allowing the charging of the excise duty on malt according to the weight of the grain used."

Austria, and Jena and Austerlitz were preying on the spirits and life of Pitt, the heart of the country was deeply stirred and its hopes revived by the victories of the British over the French at sea, culminating in the battle of Trafalgar. Nelson was the hero who, sealing his victory with his death, was regarded by all loyal societies in Britain as having been the first to stem, at least on one element, the tide of Napoleon's success. Perthshire was not behind in this national movement. At a general meeting of the county (January 16, 1806), called "for the purpose of addressing his Majesty on the late signal naval victories, and on the present most important crisis of public affairs," the Duke of Atholl being in the chair, Colonel Graham moved that an address of the following tenor, which he had prepared, might be approved of and adopted by the meeting: "We beg leave humbly to approach your Majesty's throne with the most fervent and sincere congratulations, on the occasion of the late splendid and important victories which, under the blessing of Providence, have crowned the skill and courage of your Majesty's navy. While we lament the success of insatiable ambition on the Continent, which may again expose these

united kingdoms to the hazard of invasion, we trust there can be but one sentiment in the breasts of all your Majesty's subjects. Who that values the inestimable blessings of his proud birthright can hesitate to risk his life and fortune to save his country from slavery? Our military history affords the satisfactory reflection that many instances are to be found in every branch of the service of those distinguished abilities and that devoted patriotism which characterised the illustrious chief (Lord Nelson) whose loss we now deplore, and whose heroic achievements must consecrate his memory for ever in the hearts of his countrymen. Should it, therefore, become necessary to fight our enemy within these united kingdoms, we can entertain no doubt of the issue of the contest—certain that so numerous and so brave a people, while united and true to themselves, are invincible; and confident that the wisdom and vigour of your Majesty's councils* will direct the energy of your people in the best manner, we look forward to a glorious example being set to the world by the triumph of freemen in defence of

* Mr Pitt died a week after the date of this meeting, on the 23d January 1806.

their king and country. Prepared for every sacrifice which such a contest may demand, we consider ourselves as particularly called on to take this opportunity to renew those assurances of determined zeal and unalterable attachment and devotion which your Majesty has a right to expect of us in so important a crisis."

To the motion for approving of this Address the Earl of Breadalbane moved as an amendment, "That an addition be made to the proposed address of the following tenor: 'But we humbly beseech your Majesty to call to your councils all the great talents and ability of the nation in the present urgent situation of public affairs, as it is only through the wise and able measures of united talent and a strong administration that we can look with any degree of confidence to a happy issue of the important contest in which we are now engaged.'" This amendment being put to a vote and rejected, Colonel Graham's motion was carried, and the address proposed by him was transmitted to the Home Secretary.*

* The motion and amendment were seconded respectively by Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre and by General Robertson of Lude. Lord Breadalbane's anticipation of a Ministry of "all the talents" was fulfilled probably sooner than he expected.

CHAPTER VII.

Colonel Graham in Parliament—A general supporter of Mr Pitt's Government—After the death of Pitt supports Lord Howick's Catholic Relief Bill and the Whig Ministry of 1806-7—His constituents dissatisfied with him—He resigns his seat for Perthshire at the general election.

DURING the lifetime of Mr Pitt, Colonel Graham, when in Parliament, gave a general support to his Government, as he did also to the Administration of Mr Addington, though he never acknowledged himself to be what he termed a "party man." He hardly ever spoke in Parliament.

At the general elections in 1796 and 1802 he was returned for Perthshire without opposition. On the accession of the "Talents Administration" of Lord Grenville and Mr Fox, after the death of Pitt in January 1806, influenced probably, more or less, by his former Fox predilections, he gave the new Ministry

his support upon general questions, without much observation or fault-finding on the part of his constituents.

Mr Fox dying in September 1806, and the Ministry continuing, he was unanimously returned again as representative of the county at the general election in November of that year. But the crucial question which immediately arose in connection with Roman-Catholic Emancipation made this return his last, and finally deprived him of the support of the majority of the Perthshire electors.

The well-known views of George III. as to Catholic Emancipation putting a general measure of relief out of the question, Lord Howick, in March 1807, brought in his bill for enabling persons of every religious persuasion to serve in the army and navy, without other condition than that of taking an oath, specified in the bill, which was repugnant to no religious opinions.* This measure had Colonel Graham's warm approval, his views at this time and ever after being very decided in favour

* By the law then existing, no Catholic could attain the rank even of a subaltern, in consequence of the necessity of officers of every grade taking the Test Oath—a law which was not enforced, and which in practice was "more honoured in the breach than the observance."

of Catholic Emancipation. After its first reading, the king took alarm at Lord Howick's bill as a measure tending towards the abolition of all religious tests; the well-known result being a change of Ministry. Two important debates and divisions followed; the first on a motion of Mr Brand (afterwards Lord Dacre) with reference to the bearing of the Catholic question on the recent change, "That it was contrary to the duty of members of the Cabinet to restrain themselves by a pledge from advising the king on any subject;" the other on a resolution to express the regret of the House at the removal from office of the late Administration. Mr Brand's motion was lost by 258 against 226, Colonel Graham voting in the minority.* The subsequent motion was also lost by 244 against 198. The names in this division are not given in Hansard or the journals, but it is probable that in it also Colonel Graham voted with the minority. He had by this time formed relations of friendship with leading members of the Whig party —Lord Spencer, Lord Holland, Mr Coke of Norfolk, Mr Brand, Mr Sheridan, Mr Samuel Whitbread, and the Bedford family.

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, April 9, 1807.

In one of the debates at this time, Colonel Graham, in his place in the House of Commons, referred to Mr Perceval as raising the cry of "No Popery," which he characterised as hypocrisy.

His pro-Catholic views, so decidedly intimated, and also supported by his votes, found no favour with the majority of his constituents in Perthshire, and of this they did not allow him to remain ignorant. He was considerably piqued at their disagreement with him on this subject, though without good reason, the Perthshire freeholders having undoubtedly a right to the exercise of their own opinions on a question which continued to divide Parliament and the country for many years after. On the dissolution of Parliament in April 1807, he addressed a letter to the electors declining to come forward as a candidate at the immediately ensuing election; and Lord James Murray (afterwards Lord Glenlyon), a personal friend of the Prince Regent, was returned without opposition in his stead. From that time Colonel Graham attached himself more decidedly to the Whig party. His letter to the freeholders (Stratton Street, London, April 28, 1807), was in the following terms:—

"After having so lately expressed my sincere gratitude for being continued your representative in Parliament, it would be idle to dissemble my mortification at being obliged to relinquish my pretensions now. It was my especial pride to be supported by those who are considered as forming the independent interest of the county; an honest pride founded on the belief that to character alone I owed that support, and that it would not be withdrawn while I maintained that unsullied. Finding, however, that those very men of this class on whose attachment my chief reliance was placed have determined that I shall be opposed, I think it becoming in me not to disturb the peace of the county at present by a contest against those interests which have been so long favourable to me.

"But in making this public declaration I must, in justice to myself, add such further explanations as the limits of this address will permit.

"During the discussions in Parliament, charges of the most heinous nature were brought against the late Ministers, and it became my duty to decide on the justice of them. Totally unconnected with the men, I examined their

conduct strictly and impartially with regard to this last measure of their administration. I found everything to applaud, nothing to condemn. Their proceedings throughout appeared to me to be marked by the most wise, just, and liberal policy; by the most anxious and submissive attention to the personal feelings of their sovereign; and by the most scrupulous regard for the security of his crown, of the constitution, and of the dearest interests of the empire. I could not hesitate to support statesmen so calumniated to their king and country. I will not condescend to vindicate myself from the imputation of factious motives. I have proved my loyalty and attachment to his Majesty and the constitution by no ordinary sacrifices. The conscientious discharge of the trust you reposed in me is now my crime—for that I am punished by you.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

"THOMAS GRAHAM."

and co-operation. His letters to headquarters, which have been published, expose the want of union and the imprudence of the Spanish generals, and the incapacity of the Spanish military administration.* Successive defeats by the French of three of their armies in the north of Spain followed upon each other.

When the various corps of Sir John Moore's army had concentrated in the vicinity of Salamanca, intelligence of the occupation of Madrid by Bonaparte, and the submission of the inhabitants to the French rule, was brought to headquarters by Colonel Graham on the 9th December.† The movements which followed and the retreat to Corunna are matter of history. There is now a disposition on all hands to acknowledge the generalship, valour, and skill displayed by Moore in the very difficult circumstances in which he was placed. Colonel Graham, as his confidential aide-de-camp, executed in the most efficient manner the various duties intrusted to him, and was indefatigable in his exertions during the march to Corunna. His services in the campaign

* Napier's Peninsular War, vol. i. pp. 419-423.

† Narrative of Sir John Moore's Campaign, by Mr James Moore, p. 181.

were so much in the public eye, and the recognition of them by Sir John Moore so unhesitating, that there is every reason to suppose the reputation of these services contributed in no small degree to obtaining for him the promotion and important commands in the army which he afterwards held.

Colonel Graham's zeal in the service of his country received additional impulse from the intimate friendship he had contracted with Sir John Moore personally—a friendship which was now to be converted into affectionate regard for the memory of the dead. The incidents of the death of Moore at Corunna, as given in his brother Mr James Moore's narrative of the campaign, are a touching record of the cordial feeling that existed between the general and his aide-de-camp. Sir John Moore, while earnestly directing and watching the current of the battle on the 16th of January 1809, was struck on the left breast by the *ricochet* of a cannon-ball, and thrown from his horse. Captain (afterwards Lord) Hardinge was with him at the moment. Colonel Graham came up immediately after, and rode to obtain surgical assistance. Having satisfied himself that his troops were

gaining upon the French, and that victory was secure, and having given up the command to Major-General Hope,* the dying general was borne by soldiers of the 42d and of the Guards to his lodgings at Corunna. He spoke incoherently of various matters of interest, one of his last inquiries being—"Are Colonel Graham and my aides-de-camp well?" In the course of the evening he expired.

How he should be buried now became (in the words of Mr James Moore's narrative†) "the subject of deliberation among the military friends of Sir John Moore who had survived the engagement; when Colonel Anderson informed them that he had heard the general repeatedly declare, that 'if he was killed in battle, he wished to be buried where he had fallen.' General Hope and Colonel Graham immediately acceded to this suggestion, and

* General Hope, already a distinguished officer, afterwards fourth Earl of Hopetoun, was cousin-german of Colonel Graham, being a younger son of John second Earl of Hopetoun, brother of Lady Christian Græme. He died at Paris in 1823, on which occasion Lord Lynedoch, expressing much regret for his death, speaks of him as "my valuable friend and relation."— Lord Lynedoch to Andrew Murray, Esq., 2d September 1823.

† Pp. 366, 367.

it was determined that the body should be interred on the rampart of the citadel of Corunna. At twelve o'clock at night the remains of Sir John Moore were accordingly carried to the citadel by Colonel Graham, Major Colborn, and the aides-de-camp, and deposited in Colonel Graham's quarters.

"A grave was dug by a party of the 9th Regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, and the body was never undressed, but wrapt up by the officers of his staff in a military cloak and blankets. Towards eight o'clock in the morning some firing was heard. It was then resolved to finish the interment, lest a serious attack should be made; on which the officers would be ordered away, and not suffered to pay the last duties to their general. The officers of his family bore the body to the grave; the funeral service was read by the chaplain, and the corpse was covered with earth." *

Colonel Graham returned to England with the fleet from Corunna, and was soon after

* The well-known "Lines on the Burial of Sir John Moore," which have been so much admired, are little more than this simple narrative rendered in verse.

promoted to the rank of Major-General. The expedition to Walcheren taking place in the summer of 1809, he was appointed to command a division in the army under Lord Chatham. He took part in the first advance and the earlier proceedings of that unfortunate campaign;* but had not been long in Holland when he was attacked by malaria fever, and came home on the sick-list. The natural strength of his constitution, and the bracing air of Perthshire, where he went to restore his health and visit his estate, enabled General Graham to shake off in a few weeks this Walcheren fever, which was so fatal to the British troops. No bad effects remained with him, unless the attacks of rheumatism which troubled him in his later years could be traced to it.

* Edinburgh Annual Register, 1809, pp. 667, 678.

CHAPTER IX.

State of Cadiz and Spain in 1810—*General Graham sent to take the command at Cadiz—Relation of his command to that of Lord Wellington with the main army—Proceedings at Cadiz.*

THE most important part of General Graham's military career is now to be entered upon. Lord Wellington, after the campaign of Talavera in 1809, had fallen back upon Portugal, and was preparing and strengthening the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras, on which Massena's army afterwards so disastrously broke itself. In the beginning of February 1810, the whole of Spain was formally in the occupation of the French, with the exception of Cadiz and the coast to the southward lying between the Mediterranean and the Sierra Nevada. In Cadiz and its dependency the Isla de Leon, which was separated from the mainland by the river of Santa Petri, the central government or regency of Spain had

taken refuge. The capture of Cadiz and the Isla, with its harbours and fortified places, would have been at this time a fatal blow to the patriotic cause in the Peninsula. Marshal Victor, the French commander in this quarter, declining an assault, had commenced a blockade, spreading his army round the margin of the bay, and setting on foot works of contravallation on an extent of not less than twenty-five miles.*

Representations being made by the Spanish regency for assistance from Portugal, Lord Wellington despatched to Cadiz from Lisbon 2000 British troops under Major-General William Stewart, which were joined by 1000 men from Gibraltar and a Portuguese regiment. These troops, with about 14,000 Spaniards, formed the garrison.† There was a considerable fleet in the bay, and some money arrived from Mexico. "And thus," in the words of Sir William Napier, "money, troops, and a fleet—in fine, all things necessary to render Cadiz formidable—were collected; yet to little purpose, because procrastination, jealousy,

* Napier's Peninsular War, vol. iii.

† Gurwood's Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, vol. v. p. 474; February 5, 1810. Napier, iii. 177.

ostentation, and a thousand absurdities, were the invariable attendants of Spanish armies and governments."

Having been previously raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General,* General Graham was now sent by the British Government to take the command at Cadiz, where he arrived on the 24th March 1810. †

It appears that Lord Wellington, in the end of the year 1809, had his eye upon General Graham for employment in the Peninsula. In a letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the subject of general officers, referring to the state of health of Sir John Sherbrooke, he says: ‡ "The only officers I know fit to succeed him are General Graham, General Oakes, or Sir George Prevost." And writing afterwards to Lord Liverpool: § "As your lordship has settled with General Graham

* General Foi (Peninsular War, vol. i. p. 175, English translation), remarking on the system of the British army, says that "General Graham was promoted in the army on account of his special services, and because he had, as Commissioner of the English Government with the Austrian army, served in the memorable campaign of 1796-1797 in Italy."

† Gurwood, vi. 32; April 11, 1810. Napier, iii. 179.

‡ Gurwood, v. 372; December 21, 1809.

§ Gurwood, v. 555; March 15, 1810.

that he has to come out to succeed General Sherbrooke, I shall be very much obliged to you if you will arrange with him to be at Lisbon in the first week in May." In a letter to his brother the Hon. Henry Wellesley, British ambassador at Cadiz, Lord Wellington writes thus : *

"Since I wrote to you on the 27th, I have received accounts from England to the 19th inst., and I have heard that General Graham is appointed to command at Cadiz. You will find General Graham a most able and active officer, who, I am convinced, will be very desirous to co-operate with you in everything for the public service. I beg, however, that you will tell General Stewart that the arrangement which has been made for the command at Cadiz was not proposed by me."

Although Lord Wellington, in the first of the letters just referred to, mentioned General Graham to Lord Liverpool with high commendation, he does not seem to have been consulted as to the special terms of the appointment to the command at Cadiz. Indeed,

* Gurwood, v. 588 ; March 30, 1810.

from the tenor of the Secretary of State's "Instructions" to General Graham, Lord Wellington doubted for some time whether the corps at Cadiz was intended to form part of the army under his own command.* Such, however, was their good mutual understanding, that the public service in Cadiz was not affected by those doubts; which were fortunately soon removed, as appears from a despatch of Lord Wellington to General Graham of 13th May 1810:†

"Since I wrote to you yesterday, I have received letters and despatches from England, which declare the intention of the King's Government that the force at Cadiz should be considered as part of this army; and I request you to give directions to the heads of the several departments there, to report their proceedings to the heads of the departments in Portugal, and to correspond with them constantly. It will also be necessary that the warrants for the extraordinaries incurred at Cadiz should be signed by me; but in all other respects, I request you to continue to

* Gurwood, vi. 83; May 3, 1810.
† Gurwood, vi. 106.

carry on all matters as you have done hitherto, and to proceed with your arrangements in the same manner as if I had nothing to say to Cadiz, in the perfect confidence that I shall concur in them all."

On the same subject General Graham writes from Cadiz on the 22d May to Mr Stuart, British minister at Lisbon :—

"I add this note merely as a postscript to my last, to tell you that Lord Liverpool has decided the doubt by declaring this a part of Lord Wellington's army, but saying it is the wish of Government that, though I am second in command to him, I should be left here for the present." *

These letters show the footing upon which General Graham, whose situation in the army was peculiar, joined the service in the Peninsula. On first arriving at Cadiz, he caused an exact military survey to be made of the Isla de Leon, from which it appeared that the force assigned for its defence was inadequate, and that a larger garrison and a much more complete system of redoubts and batteries were

* Napier, iv. 549.

necessary to secure it. In vain, however, did the English engineers present plans and offer to construct the works. The Spaniards would never consent to pull down a house or destroy a garden; their procrastination paralysed the allies and would have lost the place, had the French been prepared to press the attack vigorously. They were indifferent to the progress of the enemy, and, to use General Graham's expression, they wished the English would drive away the French, that they might go and eat strawberries at Chiclana,—a favourite resort outside the French lines.* Thus it happened that, from the paucity of engineer officers, the negligence of ministerial departments, the scarcity of provisions, and other causes, what works the Spaniards allowed to be constructed were but indifferently executed, and the safety of the place was more owing to the vigilance and bravery of its defenders than to the strength of its works.† The fort of Matagorda, which had been occupied by General Stewart, and impeded the enemy's works on the land side, was retaken by the French after a severe struggle,—this being

* Napier, iii. 179.

† Napier, iii. 180, and Append. 589. Lord Wellington to Hon. H. Wellesley, Dec. 2, 1810; Gurwood, vii. 20.

their only positive gain during the whole time of the blockade.

The British Government attached a well-founded importance to Cadiz as the last stronghold of the patriotic cause in the Peninsula. In the summer of 1810 they sent instructions to Wellington, in the event of his being obliged to evacuate Portugal with the British army, to carry it to Cadiz.* The campaign of Busaco and Torres Vedras, and the rout of the army of Massena in the autumn of that year, happily put this contingency entirely aside.†

* August 2, 1810, Lord Wellington to General Graham; Gurwood, vi. 300.

† As bearing on the part taken by General Graham in the defence of Cadiz, the following letter (1st June 1810), of an officer of engineers, given in the appendix to the third volume of Sir W. Napier's Peninsular War, may be quoted: "We have in our respected general [Graham] a confidence which is daily on the increase. He has a mind and temper well adapted to encounter difficulties which less favoured dispositions could not bear. We may possibly maintain our ground. If we do, although our success may have none of the brilliancy of victory, yet his merits, who by patience, prudence, and self-possession shall have kept all quiet within our lines, preserved tolerable harmony, and kept an enterprising enemy off with very inadequate means, should be rewarded by his country's good opinion, although none but those who have witnessed can fully estimate the value of his exertions. On the whole, our situation may be said to inspire hope, though not security; to animate resistance, though not to promise victory."

CHAPTER X.

General Graham and the garrison of Cadiz propose to drive the French out of their lines, and raise the siege—Battle of Barrosa—Misconduct of the Spanish general, and disputes at Cadiz—Joins Lord Wellington's army, and is put in command of a division—Ciudad Rodrigo—Fox-hunting—Order of the Bath—Sir T. Graham in command of the covering army at Badajos—Complaint in his eyes—Sails for England.

WHILE maintaining their ground in Cadiz and the Isla de Leon against Marshal Victor, such was the difficulty of arranging plans and the state of the Spanish troops, that the garrison of Cadiz had as yet been unable to act on the offensive, or give any check to the enemy's works; and, in fact, with the exception of a fruitless expedition to aid the armed peasants of the district of Ronda, nothing aggressive on the part of the garrison took place till the spring of 1811. The French making occasional demonstrations for a serious attack on the Isla, additional British troops had been sent

to Cadiz from Sicily and elsewhere, so as to augment the English force under General Graham to nearly 6000 men;* and he was now watching an opportunity for action.

On the 23d of February 1811, we find Lord Wellington writing to him as follows:†

"In case your sortie should succeed (which will place the war on its legs again in the best manner), I have again written to Lord Liverpool to request that you might join this army. You shall know his answer as soon as I receive it."

The army of General Soult at Seville, which was ready to support, in case of need, the force investing Cadiz, being moved farther north in January 1811, the occasion seemed favourable for an attempt to drive Marshal Victor out of his lines and raise the siege. In the course of February a force of upwards of 4000 effective troops (with some German hussars) under General Graham, and about 7000 Spaniards under General la Pena, to whom for the sake

* Lord Wellington to Marshal Beresford, March 18, 1811; Gurwood, vii. 360.

† Gurwood, vii. 276.

of unanimity the chief command was conceded, sailed from Cadiz and assembled at Tarifa on the Strait of Gibraltar.* Straggling and not in good concert, the allied army, marching northward through the night, arrived on the morning of the 5th March at the heights of Barrosa near the coast and not far from the French lines. The account of the action that followed, the brunt of which, owing to the misconduct or cowardice of La Pena, was entirely borne by the British, will be best given in General Graham's own words :—

Lieutenant-General Graham to the Earl of Liverpool, Secretary of State.

"ISLA DE LEON, *6th March* 1811.

"MY LORD,—Captain Hope, my first aide-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering this despatch to inform your lordship of the glorious issue of an action fought yesterday by the division under my command, against the army commanded by Marshal Victor, composed of the two divisions Rufin and Laval.

"The circumstances were such as compelled

* Napier, iii. 440, 441.

me to attack this very superior force. In order, as well to explain to your lordship the circumstances of peculiar disadvantage under which the action was begun, as to justify myself from the imputation of rashness in the attempt, I must state to your lordship that the allied army, after a night-march of sixteen hours from the camp near Veger, arrived in the morning of the 5th on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth of the Santi Petri river. This height extends inland about a mile and a half, continuing on the north the extensive heathy plain of Chiclana. A great pine-forest skirts the plain, and circles round the height at some distance, terminating down to Santi Petri; the intermediate space between the north side of the height and the forest being uneven and broken.

"A well-conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near Santi Petri by the vanguard of the Spanish army, under Brigadier-General Ladrizabel, having opened the communication with the Isla de Leon, I received General la Pena's directions to move down from the position of Barrosa to that of the Torre de Bermeja, about half-way to the

Santi Petri river, in order to secure the communication across the river, over which a bridge had been lately established. This latter position occupies a narrow woody ridge, the right on the sea-cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of the marsh. A hard sandy beach gives an easy communication between the western points of these two positions.

"My division being halted on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, was marched about twelve o'clock through the wood towards the Bermeja (cavalry patrols having previously been sent towards Chiclana without meeting with the enemy). On the march I received notice that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. As I considered that position the key of that of Santi Petri, I immediately countermarched, in order to support the troops left for its defence; and the alacrity with which this manœuvre was executed served as a favourable omen. It was, however, impossible in such intricate and difficult ground to preserve order in the columns, and there never was time to restore it entirely.

"But before we could get ourselves quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, while the enemy's left wing was rapidly ascending. At the same time, his right wing stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood, within cannon-shot. A retreat in the face of such an enemy, already within reach of the easy communication by the sea-beach, must have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermeja nearly at the same time.

"Trusting to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of their enemy, an immediate attack was determined on. Major Duncan soon opened a powerful battery of ten guns in the centre. Brigadier-General Dilkes, with the brigade of Guards, Lieutenant-Colonel Browne's (of the 28th) flank battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Norcott's two companies of the 2d Rifle corps, and Major Acheson with a part of the 87th Foot (separated from the regiment in the wood), formed on the right. Colonel Wheatley's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream Guards under Lieutenant-Colonel

Jackson (separated likewise from his battalion in the wood), and Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard's flank battalion, formed on the left.

"As soon as the infantry was thus hastily got together, the guns advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire. The right wing proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's division on the hill, while Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard's battalion and Lieutenant-Colonel Bushe's detachment of the 20th Portuguese were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on our left.

"General Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by Major Duncan's battery, continued to advance in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musketry, and was only checked by that of the left wing. The left wing now advanced, firing. A most determined charge by the three companies of Guards and the 87th Regiment, supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Laval's division. The eagle of the 8th Regiment of Light Infantry, which suffered immensely, and a howitzer, rewarded this charge, and remained in possession of Major Gough of the 87th Regiment. These

attacks were zealously supported by Colonel Belson with the 28th Regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost with a part of the 67th. A reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across which the enemy was closely pursued, next shared the same fate, and was routed by the same means.

"Meanwhile the right wing was not less successful. The enemy, confident of success, met General Dilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of Guards, of Lieutenant-Colonel Browne's battalion, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Norcott's and Major Acheson's detachment, overcame every obstacle, and General Rufin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.

"No expressions of mine could do justice to the conduct of the troops throughout. Nothing less than the almost unparalleled exertions of every officer, the invincible bravery of every soldier, and the most determined devotion to the honour of his Majesty's arms in all, could have achieved this brilliant success against such a formidable enemy so posted.

"In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the enemy was in full retreat. The retiring divisions met, halted, and seemed inclined to form; a new and more advanced position of our artillery quickly dispersed them. The exhausted state of the troops made pursuit impossible." * . . .

(The remainder of the despatch relates the meritorious services, in the battle, of particular officers and troops.)

In this action the French had about 8000 men engaged, their loss, in killed, wounded and prisoners, being about 3000. Two general officers, six pieces of cannon, an eagle, and nearly 500 prisoners, were taken. The loss on the British side was between 1100 and 1200, of whom 200 were killed.†

Had the Spaniards done their part in the battle, the object of the expedition would most probably have been attained, and Victor's force driven from its lines. As it was, taking into view the situation into which La Pena had brought his troops, it was the means of saving the allied army, which returned immediately to the Isla and Cadiz, while the French,

* Gurwood, vii. 381. † Ibid. vii. 385.

with their still superior numbers, renewed the blockade.*

This action gave rise to violent disputes in Cadiz. La Pena and his friends, in order to screen themselves, circulated inaccurate and calumnious accounts of it; which General Graham exposed, by publishing in Spanish and English his despatch to Lord Liverpool, along with a letter to the British ambassador, the Hon. H. Wellesley, in justification of his conduct.† The title of "grandee of the first

* Napier, iii. 450.

† Cartas del Teniente General Graham, &c., Cadiz, 1811. The letter to the British ambassador is reprinted from this pamphlet in the appendix to the third volume of Napier's Peninsular War, so that only the part of it bearing most upon the matter in question is here quoted: "When the British division began its march from the position of Barrosa to that of Bermeja, I left General Lapena on the Barrosa height, nor did I know of his intentions of quitting it; and when I ordered the division to counter-march in the wood, I did so to support troops left for its defence, and believing the General to be there in person. In this belief, I sent no report of the attack which was made so near the spot where the General was supposed to be; and though confident in the bravery of the British troops, I was not less so in the support I should receive from the Spanish army. The distance, however, to Bermeja is trifling; and no orders were given from headquarters for the movement of any corps of the Spanish army to support the British division, to prevent its defeat in this unequal contest, or to profit of the success earned at so heavy an expense. The voluntary zeal of the two small battalions (Walloon Guards and Ciudad Real) which had been detached

class" having been thereafter voted to him by the Cortez, he declined it.*

from my division brought them alone back from the wood; but notwithstanding their utmost efforts, they could only come at the close of the action.

"Had the whole body of the Spanish cavalry with the horse-artillery been rapidly sent by the sea-beach to form in the plain and to envelop the enemy's left—had the greatest part of the infantry been marched through the pine-wood in our rear to turn his right, what success might not have been expected from such decisive movements? The enemy must either have retired instantly, and without occasioning any serious loss to the British division, or he would have exposed himself to absolute destruction, his cavalry greatly outnumbered, his artillery lost, his columns mixed and in confusion; and a general dispersion would have been the inevitable consequence of a close pursuit: our wearied men would have found spirits to go on, and would have trusted to finding refreshment and repose at Chiclana. This movement was lost. Within a quarter of an hour's ride of the scene of action, the General remained ignorant of what was passing, and nothing was done. Let not, then, this action of Barrosa form any part of the general report of the transactions of the day: it was an accidental and insulated feature; it was the result of no combination; it was equally unseen and unheeded by the Spanish staff. The British division, left alone, suffered the loss of more than one-fourth of its number, and became unfit for further exertion. Need I say more to justify my determination of declining any further co-operation in the field towards the prosecution of the object of the expedition? I am, however, free to confess that, having placed myself and the British division under the direction of the Spanish Commander-in-chief in the field (contrary to my instructions), I should not have thought myself justified to my king and

* Napier, iii. 451.

Lord Wellington, in a despatch to General Graham,* after this battle, says :—

"I beg to congratulate you and the brave troops under your command on the signal victory which you gained on the 5th instant. I have no doubt whatever that their success would have had the effect of raising the siege of Cadiz, if the Spanish corps had made any efforts to assist them; and I am equally certain, from your account of the ground, that if you had not decided with the utmost promptitude to attack the enemy, and if your attack had not been a most vigorous one, the whole allied army would have been lost.

"The conduct of the Spaniards throughout this expedition is precisely the same as I have

country to risk the absolute destruction of this division in a second trial. But I have a right to claim credit for what would have been my conduct from what it was; and I will ask if it can be doubted, after my zealous co-operation throughout, and the ready assistance afforded to the troops left on Barrosa height, that the same anxiety for the success of the cause would not have secured to the Spanish army the utmost efforts of the British division during the whole of the enterprise, had we been supported as we had a right to expect. There is not a man in the division who would not gladly have relinquished his claim to glory acquired by the action of Barrosa, to have shared with the Spaniards the ultimate success that was within our grasp, as it were." . . .

* March 25, 1811; Gurwood, vii. 382.

ever observed it to be. They march the troops night and day without provisions or rest; and abusing everybody who proposes a moment's delay to afford either to the famished and fatigued soldiers, they reach the enemy in such a state as to be unable to make any exertion or to execute any plan, even if any plan had been formed; and then, when the moment of action arrives, they are totally incapable of movement, and they stand by to see their allies destroyed, and afterwards abuse them because they do not continue, unsupported, exertions to which human nature is not equal. I concur in the propriety of your withdrawing to the Isla on the 6th, as much as I admire the promptitude and determination of your attack of the 5th; and I most sincerely congratulate you, and the brave troops under your command, on your success."

In a despatch of the same date to Marshal Beresford, Lord Wellington writes:*—

"General Graham has returned to the Isla, after having fought the hardest action that has been fought yet. The Spaniards left him

* Gurwood, vii. 388.

very much to his own exertions. The Spanish general is to be brought to a court-martial."

He continued about three months after the battle of Barrosa at Cadiz, watching an opportunity "to alarm the enemy for his situation before Cadiz, or for the security of Seville." In June 1811 he received from the Secretary of State an order, which was very welcome to him, to join the main army; and he relinquished the command at Cadiz to General Cooke.* While communicating this order, Lord Wellington asks him to make such arrangements as he may think proper respecting the staff at Cadiz, and to bring with him such of the officers belonging to it as he may be desirous should accompany him.

Sailing to Lisbon in August, General Graham joined Wellington's army, of which he was immediately put in command of a division. In January 1812 he took part in the siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo; Lord Wellington's despatch to the Secretary of State containing, as to him, the following notice :—

* Lord Wellington to General Graham, May 29, 1811; Gurwood, vii. 605: and June 24, 1811; Gurwood, viii. 44.

"Lieutenant-General Graham assisted me in superintending the conduct of the details of the siege, besides performing the duties of the general officer commanding the first division; and I am much indebted to the suggestions and assistance I received from him for the success of the enterprise."*

The pack of fox-hounds Lord Wellington brought to Spain was at this time hunting pretty regularly. One can hardly imagine how either Wellington or General Graham could have much leisure for riding with hounds in the short interval between the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo in January and the investment of Badajos in March; but in the early part of February 1812, more than one despatch from the Commander-in-chief to General Graham contains a postscript such as the following:—

"The rivers are so full, that I am afraid it will be impossible to hunt to-morrow; but if

* January 20, 1812; Gurwood, viii. 529. For Ciudad Rodrigo he received a gold cross, as he did for Barrosa, and afterwards for Vittoria and St Sebastian.

the day should be fair, the hounds will be at Pozo Velho at about half-past eleven." *

In March 1812, the two Lieutenant-Generals Graham and Hill received the Order of the Bath.† Lord Wellington was directed to invest them with the insignia of the Order; and he gave a dinner-party on the occasion to the commanding and staff officers of the army.

The siege of Badajos was commenced on the 16th of March; and the same day, a force commanded by Sir Thomas Graham, consisting of three divisions of infantry, with two brigades of cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, was despatched southward towards Llerena, to push back the enemy in that quarter, and to act as a covering army. Sir Stapleton was desired to make a demonstration in the direction of Seville, with discretionary power to attack. This resulted in an affair of cavalry at Llerena, in which the British were successful.‡ Badajos was stormed on the night of the 6th of April.

Sir Thomas Graham now resumed his

* February 2, 1812; Gurwood, viii. 557.

† Gurwood, viii. 612.

‡ Life of Lord Combermere, i. 226. Gurwood, ix. 66.

regular duty with the main army; receiving on the 7th of May the following instruction from Lord Wellington:*

"As some time must elapse yet before we can attempt anything, I shall be very much obliged to you if you will move your quarters to Portalegre, and if you will have your eye upon what is passing in front of Badajos, and will go there if you should find that any serious movement is likely to be made by the enemy on that place during Hill's absence."

In May and June 1812, Sir Thomas Graham, in command of two divisions of the army, took part in the operations and movements that preceded the battle of Salamanca. He had been for some time suffering from a complaint in his eyes, brought on by the glaring fields and atmosphere of Spain and frequent writing by candle-light. This obliged him in the beginning of July, much to his own regret, to return for the present to England. Lord Wellington, in a letter to the Earl of Liverpool,† expresses his regret at Sir Thomas

* Gurwood, ix. 131.

† June 3, 1812; Gurwood, ix. 209.

Graham being obliged to quit the army, requesting at the same time that no officer should be sent out in his place as second in command. And in a despatch to Sir Thomas Graham* he says :—

"I have for some time past been apprehensive that you would be under the necessity of confining yourself, in order to apply the remedies which may be necessary for your eye; but I cannot avoid feeling the utmost concern that this necessity should have become urgent at the present moment, and that I should now be deprived of your valuable assistance. I must, however, make up my mind to this loss; as, from what I have heard, I am apprehensive that no time is to be lost in applying the remedies to your eye which are most likely to recover it." †

The battle of Salamanca was fought on the 22d July following.

* July 3, 1812; Gurwood, ix. 269.

† Sir T. Graham, when in Spain, had the benefit of the able advice of Dr (Sir James) M'Grigor, chief of the medical department, for the complaint in his eyes.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir T. Graham defeated at the general election—A political squib—Returns to Spain—Commands the left wing of the army in the campaign of Vittoria—Difficult march of the left of the army from the frontier of Portugal to the point of concentration—Battle of Vittoria—Sir T. Graham intercepts the enemy's retreat to France by the Bayonne road—Is detached after the battle to attack General Foi—Affair at Tolosa.

AN autumn and winter at home, the fresher air and green landscapes of his native country, sufficed to restore Sir Thomas Graham's eyes. His health otherwise had not suffered in the Peninsula from the fatigues he had undergone, although he was now in the 64th year of his age.

At the general election in October 1812 he contested the county of Perth with James Drummond, Esq. (afterwards Lord Strathallan). He had powerful support;* but the

* Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre (brother of the Pen-

interest of the Atholl family, and of the more staunch adherents of the Tory party, was arrayed against him, and he lost the election by a majority of seven,—75 freeholders voting for Mr Drummond, and 68 for Sir Thomas Graham.*

insular Quartermaster-General, Sir George Murray) and several other personal friends politically connected with the party then in power supported Sir Thomas Graham in this contest.

* The following local squib (of questionable merit as regards the poetry), penned by a Perthshire freeholder, was circulated previous to the election :—

SIR A. M. M. TO SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B.

"Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis ! At ille
Qui me commôrit (melius non tangere ! clamo),
Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe."
—HOR. Sat. ii. 1.

"Behold me, harmless bard, how fond of peace !
But who provokes me or attacks my fame,
'Better not touch me, friend !' I loud exclaim ;
His eyes shall weep the folly of his tongue,
By laughing crowds in rueful ballad sung."
—FRANCIS.

"When in your Address eighteen hundred and seven,*
You quitted the county with temper uneven,
How I longed to deliver my thoughts to the nation !
But I quickly reflected on your irritation,
And my love as a friend, my respect as a neighbour,
At that critical moment suspended my labour.
But so painful confining my tongue 'twixt my teeth is,
I nearly had died of suppressed cacoëthes.

* Ante, p. 88.

On the 20th April 1813 Sir Thomas Graham was again in Lisbon, and reached Wellington's winter headquarters at Freneda, on the frontier

I suppose you're still thought by every freeholder
A gentleman quite, and than Hannibal bolder;
And believe me, dear sir, your political cronies
Have not the conviction more strong than my own is,
That, spite of the gains on your valour attendant,
Sir Thomas possesses a mind independent.
(Independence is fine, but betwixt you and me,
That is not the way to be made an M.P.)

. . . . . .

But since you've thought fit, sir, to tell us your mind,
Which the Laird of Drumquhance* has more wisely declined,
It shan't pass unnoticed; it may breed confusion,
And give a wrong view of your recent exclusion.
Now behold—(which is strange in a man of your gumption),
The round-robin lairds you accuse of presumption!
But the vote proved us right, and will do so ere long;
Besides, have not we, sir, a right to be wrong?
You say that the Catholic question has done it,
But we never collectively voted upon it;
Except, now I think on't, last April Sir Peter
(Whom I love as the devil esteems holy water)
Returned thanks 'for the system domestic and foreign,
By which Church and State are secured for one more reign.'
It is in your note eighteen hundred and seven,
Without e'en a hint of your Catholic leaven,
The ground of your feud with the county you state;
You boldly the Ministry praised whom we hate.
We thanked the good king for exerting his power—
A party man *you* said you were from that hour.

* James Drummond, Esq. (Viscount Strathallan), married to a daughter of the Duke of Atholl.

of Portugal, in the beginning of May. He was made the bearer of the insignia of the Order of the Garter to Lord Wellington, who had received that distinction in March.*

"And now, dear Sir Thomas, the freedom I'll take
To explain what a 'party man' is, for your sake.
'Tis an obstinate fool who is never perplexed—
First forms his opinion, then sticks to his text;
Not wisely foreseeing what dangers are brewing,
Sticks fast to his friends, though it leads to his ruin.
Such a fanatic's odious to Atholl and me,
And never the member for Perthshire shall be.
No; give me the leader who, cautious and bending,
Sees the dangers which rise when a Ministry's ending—
Who knows, with a speech patriotic and cool,
How to steer between Moira and Earl Kinnoull.
See, prancing so proudly, the Regent's own body hack
Canters fearlessly round the political zodiac!
To follow *his* standard is surely the wise plan,

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* The following lines, "To Sir Thomas Graham, on his return to Spain after a short visit to this country," appeared among the 'Original Poetry' in the 'Edinburgh Annual Register' for 1812, p. 16:—

"Warrior, thou seek'st again the battle-field,
Where freedom hails afar thy soul of flame;
And fall'n Iberia kindles at thy name.
Beneath the shade of England's guardian shield
She girds her armour on, and strives to wield
Her long-forgotten lance: Yes, there thy fame
Shall in the hymn of kindred hearts be sung
Round Spain's romantic shores, when she hath thrust
The spoiler from her homes, and proudly hung
Her falchion on the wall." . . .

The check which the British army and its hitherto victorious commander received, after the battle of Salamanca, at Burgos, in October 1812, and the augmentation of the French forces in the north of Spain, had necessitated a retreat again upon Portugal, on the frontier of which Lord Wellington had put his army into winter quarters in the vicinity of Sala-

Who unites with all men for the *duties of Man!* *
Then the Graham to compare with the Duke's mandarin—
The comparison's odious, 'tis Delft to Nankeen.
And now, dearest Graham, I bid you adieu;
My vote is the Duke's, my heart yearns for you.
You know how unwilling I am to intrude
On the county my thoughts, but for other men's good.
My pretensions how humble let other folks say,
And how often my modesty's stood in my way.
"I hope I've not uttered one word that has wounded;
Tilburina the doubting was not more confounded.
'Twixt my country and friend, like two stools, is my heart—
The same peril that waits a more delicate part!
Alas! not from me would you hear a voice sinister,
If you would but have yielded your own to the Minister.
In all other things you're the properest man;
So I'll do you, please God, all the harm that I can.
"Adieu, dearest friend, though 'tis wounding myself in part,—
Your opposing, attached M. M. of D., Bart.

"*P.S.*—When you come to Auld Reekie, pray drop in and you'll see
How well I get on with my snug vice-lieutenancy."

* The duties of the Isle of Man were granted to the Duke of Atholl by the united exertions of the late Mr Pitt, Mr Sheridan, &c., &c.

manca, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida. During the winter he had not been idle, and large reinforcements had come out from England; so that in May 1813 he was ready to take the field with a well-appointed army of 70,000 English and Portuguese, upwards of 20,000 Spaniards, and 90 pieces of artillery. The numerical strength of the French, on the other hand, had been diminished by drafts for the war in Germany, and their *morale* had suffered from the result of the Russian campaign. The British force was to move north-eastward upon Vittoria in three divisions; the right wing led by Sir Rowland Hill, the centre by Wellington. The left of the army, which had the longest way to march, was commanded by Sir Thomas Graham. It consisted of the 1st and 5th divisions, General Pack's and Bradford's Portuguese brigades, two brigades of cavalry, and a Spanish division.*

The march began on the 22d May.† On all the routes, but especially on the route of the left wing through the rugged province of

* Despatch, June 22, 1813; Gurwood, x. 448.

† In this campaign Lord Wellington had again the assistance of the Quartermaster-General Murray, who had been absent from the army on leave during the campaign of 1812.

Trasos Montes, and by the sources of the Ebro, physical difficulties of no ordinary kind had to be encountered. Three large rivers —the Douro, the Esla, and the Ebro—were crossed; and positions of great strength among the *puertos* or passes of the mountains had to be forced. The left wing had to be always in advance, continually pressing round the right flank of the French; and to the energy and resource of Sir Thomas Graham in conducting his troops through all obstacles to the point of concentration near Vittoria, is no doubt partly to be attributed the success of the campaign.*

* About this time Scott's 'Vision of Don Roderick' was published. In the sketch of the events of the Peninsular war which forms the concluding part of the poem, Sir T. Graham's exploits are not forgotten. As the poem is in every one's hands, I will quote here those stanzas only which bear more directly on the preceding narrative:—

"Yes! hard the task when Britons wield the sword,
To give each chief and every field its fame;
Hark! Albuera thunders Beresford,
And red Barrosa shouts for dauntless Græme!
Oh for a verse of tumult and of flame,
Bold as the bursting of their cannon sound,
To bid the world re-echo to their fame!
For never upon gory battle-ground,
With conquest's well-bought wreath were braver victors crowned!
. . . . . .
Nor be his praise o'erpast who strove to hide
Beneath the warrior's vest affection's wound,
Whose wish Heaven for his country's weal denied;
Danger and fate he sought, but glory found.

"No words can do justice," says the historian Alison,* "to the exquisite beauty of the scenery through which the British troops, especially those on the left wing, passed during this memorable march. The romantic valleys of the mountain region, whence the Ebro draws its waters, which at every season excite the admiration of the passing traveller, were at that time singularly enhanced by the exquisite verdure of the spring and the luxuriance of the foliage which in every sheltered nook clothed the mountain-sides. War appeared in these sequestered and pastoral valleys not in its rude and bloody garb, but in its most brilliant and attractive costume. The pomp of military music, as the troops wended their way through the valleys, blended with the shepherd's pipe on the hills above; while the numerous columns of horse, foot, and cannon, winding in every direction through the defiles, gave an inexpressible variety and charm to

> From clime to clime, where'er war's trumpets sound,
> The wanderer went; yet, Caledonia, still
> Thine was his thought in march and tented ground;
> He dream'd 'mid Alpine cliffs of Athole's hills,
> And heard in Ebro's roar his Lynedoch's lovely rills."

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* History of Europe, ch. lxxii. vol. ix. p. 756.

the landscape. Even the common soldiers were not insensible to the beauty of the spectacle thus perpetually placed before their eyes. Often the men rested on their muskets with their arms crossed, gazing on the lovely scenes which lay spread far beneath their feet; and more than once the heads of the columns involuntarily halted, to satiate their eyes with a spectacle of beauty, the like of which all felt they might never see again."

Meanwhile the combined armies of France under Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdain were likewise moving towards Vittoria, with the prospect before them of a battle, but with an eye also to the road to Bayonne. In addition to its own *matériel*, the army of Joseph was encumbered by a quantity of costly spoils, and an attendance worthy of a Persian satrap. By the 20th June it had taken up a position in front of Vittoria.

On the 21st the allied army, of which the centre and right had already reached the point of concentration, attacked the French, and drove them from the strong positions they had occupied on the heights and bridges. The attack commenced on the British right. Sir

Thomas Graham and the left of the army having started at daybreak from their bivouac in the mountains, arrived on the ground before mid-day, and delivered what may be considered as the final stroke of the contest by dislodging the enemy, after a severe struggle, from the heights and *têtes-de-pont* commanding the great road to France.

"The movement of the troops," says Lord Wellington's despatch,* "under Lieutenant-

* To Earl Bathurst, June 22, 1813; Gurwood, x. 449. The portion of this despatch referring more particularly to the proceedings of the left wing of the army at the battle of Vittoria is as follows: "Our troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. In the meantime, Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and Generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and General Boek's and Anson's of cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Murguia, moved forward from thence on Vittoria by the highroad from that town to Bilbao. He had, besides, with him the Spanish division under Colonel Longa; and General Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, and had arrived on the 20th at Ordunna, marched that morning from thence so as to be in the field in readiness to support Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, if his support had been required.

"The enemy had a division of infantry with some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilbao, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Mayor. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly

General Sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the highroad to France. They were then obliged to turn

occupied as *têtes-de-pont*, and the bridges over the Zadorra at these places. Brigadier-General Pack with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa with his Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry under the command of Major-General Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops.

"Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham reports that in the execution of this service the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably. The 4th battalion of Caçadores and the 8th Caçadores particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor.

"As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Mayor was most gallantly stormed and carried by Major-General Robertson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon.

"The Lieutenant-General then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco with the 1st division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade and Captain Ramsay's troop of horse artillery; and, under cover of this fire, Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried,—the light battalions having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. This attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry.

"During the operation at Abechuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of

to the road towards Pamplona; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off."

Lord Wellington, pursuing Joseph and his flying troops in the direction of Pamplona, detached Sir Thomas Graham's corps by the pass of Adrian to attack General Foi, who with 10,000 men, not previously engaged, had taken up a position in front of Tolosa. This position was so strong, that Sir T. Graham was obliged to have recourse to flank operations; and after a severe contest, he succeeded in forcing Foi to retire into the town. Here an obstinate resistance was maintained till nightfall, when the French evacuated the place and took the road to France. In these actions Sir Thomas Graham pushed the enemy from all their defences, taking some

Gamarra Mayor, which were gallantly repulsed by the 5th division, under the command of Major-General Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadorra, two divisions of infantry in reserve; and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark."

prisoners, with an inconsiderable loss of men.* He was himself hit by a spent ball on the hip. Lord Wellington thus refers to this wound, which had no serious consequences :†

"I am sorry to observe from your letter to General Murray that you have been hit; but I hope that you have not been materially hurt, and that in the meantime you will keep yourself quiet till you are well."

* Napier, v. 568, 570. Sir T. Graham to Lord Wellington, June 26, 1813; Gurwood, x. 465. Lord Wellington to Earl Bathurst, July 3, 1813; Gurwood, x. 502.

† June 28, 1813; Gurwood, x. 469.

CHAPTER XII.

Siege of San Sebastian—Sir T. Graham invests the place, and carries on the siege operations—Failure of the first attack—Renewal of the siege—Difficulties attending it—Visits of Lord Wellington to San Sebastian—Second assault—Critical state of matters—Sir T. Graham directs the guns of the battery to be pointed over the heads of the assailants to the top of the rampart—Storm and capture of the town and of the citadel—Observations.

PAMPLONA and San Sebastian were the only two important places now remaining to the French in the north of Spain. While Pamplona was to be blockaded, Lord Wellington resolved to press immediately the siege of San Sebastian, which, as long as it was possessed by the enemy, might affect materially the communications of the allied army, besides holding out to the French an inducement to the renewal of offensive operations. The garrison, which had been reinforced, amounted to about 3000 men, and was commanded by General Rey. Lord Wellington caused the

fortress to be closely examined and reported upon by the most reliable engineer officers, who proposed a plan of siege substantially the same with that subsequently carried out.*

Sir Thomas Graham was thereafter directed to employ such troops as he might think proper of the 1st and 5th divisions, along with the two Portuguese brigades, in the investment of and carrying on of the operations before San Sebastian.† The siege-train which had been framed with a view to the siege of Burgos, with some additions, was ordered up, and a body of 100 sappers and miners (a new feature in Peninsular sieges) was sent at the same time.‡ Nearly 10,000 men in all were actively engaged in the siege.

* The following passage from a letter of the Earl of Stair, ambassador at Paris in 1718, to Secretary Craggs, is evidence of the reputation for strength (in the opinion of the Duke of Berwick) attaching to San Sebastian in the early part of the eighteenth century: "All our fine projects for this campaign are overturned at once. Monsieur de Belleisle, Maréchal de Camp, arrived yesterday morning from the Maréchal de Berwick, with the news that it was impracticable to carry the castle of San Sebastian by force, and that the siege must be turned into a blockade, which would require sixteen battalions," &c.—Hardwicke's State Papers, ii, 585.

† Memorandum by Lord Wellington, July 13, 1813; Gurwood, x. 525.

‡ Napier, vi. 70; Lord Wellington to Sir T. Graham, July 4, 1813; Gurwood, x. 510.

Whoever enters or quits Spain by the railway from Bayonne to Burgos, whether he visits the town of San Sebastian or not, will remark the towering rock above the town, its base washed by the Atlantic. San Sebastian is built on a curved tongue or projection of land, having the sea on the south, the river Urumea on the north, and on the west this rugged cone called Monte Orgullo, on the top of which was the castle or citadel. The east or land front of San Sebastian, 350 yards wide, consisted of a solid fortified rampart stretching quite across the land. On the opposite side of the Urumea were certain sandy hills called "the Chofres." The defences of the town on the north, facing the Urumea, consisted of a simple rampart wall, flanked by towers of no great strength, without ditch, counterscarp, or outwork. This was the vulnerable side of the fortress, the wall being exposed from its summit to its base to a fire from the Chofres sand-hills on the opposite bank of the Urumea, a tidal river fordable at low water.*

Active operations were commenced on the 14th of July by cannonading a fortified con-

* Napier, vi. 66, *et seq.* Personal observation.

vent and redoubt called San Bartolomeo, at the east end of the isthmus, which was stormed on the 17th with considerable loss on both sides.*

The trenches were now opened, and zig-zags were pushed across the land-front of the town. Batteries constructed on the right bank of the Urumea then opened their fire, which was maintained with unexampled rapidity and accuracy against the main rampart wall.† On the 21st the place was summoned, the garrison refusing to surrender. On the 22d Lord Wellington came from headquarters, and causing a second breach to be made, in the course of which some houses on the town side of the rampart took fire, he ordered an assault for the morning of the 24th.‡ When the troops assembled in the morning of that day, the conflagration of the houses appeared so formidable that Sir T. Graham deferred the attack, and the batteries were again opened. Before dawn next morning he renewed the order for the assault; and while it was yet dark, the storming columns moved out of the trenches.

* Despatches, July 18 and 19; Gurwood, x. 546. Napier, vi. 79.

† Napier, vi. 77.

‡ Napier, vi. 83.

The troops had great difficulty in making their way across the rough and slippery bed of the river, and arrived at the foot of the breach straggling and broken. The garrison, recovering from their first surprise, assailed the storming-parties with a tempest of bullets and grape-shot. Many fell, while a few of desperate courage gained the breach and did their best to enter the town; but, being unsupported by the others, were killed almost to a man. The remainder, distracted by the difficulty of the footing and the hailstone fire of the garrison, were getting rapidly mown down, when the signal of recall was sounded.* Sir Thomas Graham's despatch to Lord Wellington states thus shortly the unsuccessful result of this assault:—

"The attack of the breach in the line wall on the left flank of San Sebastian took place on the morning of the 25th, when the fall of the tide left the foot of the wall dry, which was soon after daylight. I am sorry to say that, notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, some of whom

* Napier, vi. 80. Gleig's Life of Wellington, 239 (edit. 1862). Alison's History of Europe, chap. lxxii. vol. ix. p. 782.

did force their way into the town, the attack did not succeed. The enemy occupied in force all the defences of the place which looked that way, from which and from all round the breach they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musketry, flanking and enfilading the column, and to throw over so many hand-grenades on the troops, that it became necessary to desist from the assault." *

Meanwhile Marshal Soult having been sent by the Emperor from Germany to replace Joseph and Jourdain, had reorganised the still powerful remains of the French armies, and had resumed the offensive against the centre of Lord Wellington's army, as being what Soult considered the weakest part of the British line of operations. Wellington, again put upon his mettle, had to concentrate in haste his scattered battalions. After the failure of the assault on San Sebastian, Sir Thomas Graham was instructed to disarm the batteries, and, without raising the siege, to render a portion of the besieging force available for general service.

* July 27, 1813; Gurwood, x. 588. The rest of the despatch makes special mention of particular officers and troops.

The defeat of the French at Sauroren, and a series of actions in the defiles of the Pyrenees, having enabled Lord Wellington to shut up Soult within the territory of France, the renewal of the siege of San Sebastian was set about in earnest. Some additional guns arrived by sea, and 63 pieces of ordnance in all were placed in battery.* By the 26th of August a fresh supply of ammunition, which, from neglect on the part of the authorities at home, had been allowed to run short, was likewise ready. Approaches were also pushed forward by sap on the isthmus or land side of the place; but the battery erected there was at too great a distance.

The garrison, on their side, had been actively employed during the interval, and, besides repairing the breaches, had built from the ruins of the burnt houses a strong wall with loopholes and embrasures behind the original rampart. They had received also by sea from Bayonne supplies of all kinds and reinforcements of troops: and they continued doing so till the final capture of the town; for, with unaccountable negligence, the British Government had taken no care to send a suffi-

* Napier, vi. 186.

cient number of ships to blockade the town on the sea side.* Thus the first and most important requisite for a siege was awanting at San Sebastian—a complete investment of the place.

Lord Wellington, whose headquarters were at a short distance, at Lesaca, was in constant and anxious communication with Sir Thomas Graham on the subject of the renewal of the attack. His anxiety was increased by information he received of some indiscreet ventilation of opinion on the part of the principal officers of the 5th division.

"It is impossible," he writes to Sir T. Graham, "to stop people's mouths, if they are so indiscreet as to deliver their opinions on such a subject as the practicability of storming a breach, where those opinions can be of no use, except to render success quite unattainable by the inferior officers and troops who hear such opinions." †

On the 26th of August Lord Wellington

* Lord Wellington to Sir T. Graham, August 20, 1813; Gurwood, xi. 19; Napier, vi. 66.

† August 23, 1813; Gurwood, xi. 33.

made a short visit to San Sebastian, returning the same day to Lesaca. On the 27th he writes his view of the state of matters there to Sir Thomas Graham, whom he had not seen the day before, and whose view of the condition of affairs he found to agree with his own.*

Considering the state of feeling above referred to in the division of the army at San Sebastian, and knowing that troops which have been once repulsed in the assault of a fortress are apt to be disheartened, Lord Wellington called for volunteers from the regiments not engaged in the siege—"men who could show other troops how to mount a breach."† Seven hundred and fifty gallant soldiers answered the appeal, and, instantly marching to San Sebastian, took part in the subsequent assault.

From the 26th to the 31st August the batteries maintained a stunning fire; the rampart wall and a portion of the defences were crumbled down; the French guns, most of them dismounted in the embrasures, were nearly silenced, and the enlarged breach now

* August 27, 1813; Gurwood, xi. 45.

† Napier, vi. 197. Gleig's Life of Wellington, p. 246.

exhibited a rugged slope of great extent. Meanwhile, however, General Rey and his garrison, of undaunted courage and fertile in expedients, had thrown up intrenchments behind the ruins, loopholing for musketry the wall they had recently raised, masking a few field-pieces to be used when the assault began, and mining and loading the bottom of the breach.

On the afternoon of the 30th, Lord Wellington made another visit to San Sebastian, and after examining the state of the place and advising with the engineer officers, ordered an assault for next day at eleven o'clock.*

The continuance of the fire from the batteries and an explosion of three mines of the besiegers having farther uncovered the rampart and quay walls before noon of the 31st, the day being sultry and the sky lowering, the columns of the assailants (the boldest holding their breath) moved forward. Sir Thomas Graham overlooked and directed the whole operations from a station on the right bank of the river. His despatch reporting the storm and capture of the place must be allowed to tell its own tale :—

* Napier, vi. 191.

"TO FIELD-MARSHAL THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON, K.G.

"OYARZUN, *1st September* 1813.

"MY LORD,—In obedience to your lordship's orders of the preceding day to attack and form a lodgment on the breach of San Sebastian, which now extended to the left so as to embrace the outermost tower, the end and front of the curtain immediately over the left bastion, as well as the faces of the bastion itself, the assault took place at 11 o'clock A.M. yesterday; and I have the honour to report to your lordship that the heroic perseverance of all the troops concerned was at last crowned with success.

"The column of attack was formed of the 2d brigade of the 5th division, commanded by Major-General Robinson, with an immediate support of detachments as per margin (the 750 volunteers above mentioned), and having in reserve the remainder of the 5th division, —the whole under the direction of Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, commanding the 5th division.

"Having arranged everything with Sir J.

Leith, I crossed the Urumea to the batteries of the right attack, where everything could be most distinctly seen, and from whence the orders for the fire of the batteries, according to circumstances, could be immediately given.

"The column, in filing out of the right of the trenches, was, as before, exposed to a heavy fire of shells and grape-shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle of the counterscarp of the hornwork, which did great damage, but did not check the order of the troops in advancing to the attack. There never was anything so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach: without some description, the almost insuperable difficulties of the breach cannot be estimated. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet to the level of the streets; so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise; so

that great numbers of men were covered by intrenchments and traverses in the hornwork, on the ramparts of the curtain, and inside of the town opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain.

"Everything that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge; and though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the enemy's musketry, yet still the nature of the stone-rubbish prevented the great exertions of the engineers and working-parties from being able to form a lodgment for the troops exposed to the shells and grape from the batteries of the castle, as was particularly directed in obedience to your lordship's instructions; and, at all events, a secure lodgment could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain.

"In this almost desperate state of the attack, after consulting with Colonel Dickson, commanding the Royal Artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the

curtain. A heavy fire of artillery was directed against it, passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach, and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example. Meanwhile I accepted the offer of a part of Major-General Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river near its mouth. The advance of the 1st battalion 13th Regiment, under Major Snodgrass, across the river and over the open breach, and of a detachment of the 24th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Bean, in support, was made in the handsomest style under a very severe fire of grape. Major Snodgrass attacked and finally carried the small breach on the right of the great one, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Bean's detachment occupied the right of the great breach. . . .

"Observing now the effect of the admirable fire of the batteries against the curtain, though the enemy was so much covered, a great effort was ordered to be made to gain the high ridge at all hazards, at the same time that an attempt should be made to storm the hornwork. It fell to the lot of the 2d brigade of the 5th division, under the command of Colonel the Hon. Charles Greville, to move out of the

trenches for this purpose; and the 3d battalion of the Royal Scots under Lieutenant-Colonel Barns, supported by the 38th under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, fortunately arrived to assault the breach of the curtain about the time when an explosion on the rampart of the curtain (occasioned by the fire of the artillery) created some confusion among the enemy. The narrow pass was gained, and was maintained after a severe conflict; and the troops on the right of the breach, having about this time succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of the narrow line wall, found their way into the houses that joined it. Thus, after an assault which lasted above two hours under the most trying circumstances, a firm footing was obtained.

"It was impossible to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, and in an hour more the enemy were driven from all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, suffering a severe loss on their retreat to the castle, and leaving the whole town in our possession." *

* September 1, 1813; Gurwood, xi. 62. The concluding part of the despatch specifies the officers and troops who most distinguished themselves.

What in all probability saved the assault from failing a second time, was the directing of the fire of the artillery over the heads of the assailants on the high curtain and line of defences behind, whence the defenders were maintaining so destructive a fire on the storming columns. Sir William Napier indeed attributes the success of the assault to the explosion (referred to in Sir T. Graham's despatch) of shells and other combustibles, whereby the French defence was disconcerted, and many of the garrison killed.* But an author who looks so strictly to cause and effect should have remembered that the explosion, which took place at so critical a moment, must, according to all rules of probability, have been caused one way or another by the fire of the batteries. There was no other so probable cause of it. The author of 'The Subaltern,' and 'Life of the Duke of Wellington,' † whose accuracy as a narrator is generally acknowledged, states that the fire of the batteries ordered by Sir Thomas Graham was "admirably directed; and a shot striking some loose cartridges and loaded shells which lay ready

* Napier, vi. 204.

† Gleig's Life of Wellington, p. 246.

for use, exploded them, causing great slaughter among the French troops. They recoiled for a moment, and that moment decided the fate of the place."

Over the scene of plunder, rapine, drunkenness and fire, that followed the storming of San Sebastian, a veil may be drawn. The officers did what they could, some of them at the risk of their lives, to prevent the horrible outrages. A tempest of thunder and lightning, breaking over the town and illuminating the lurid sky, completed the terrors of the day.

The brave governor Rey and the remainder of his garrison having effected a retreat to the castle on the Monte Orgullo, efforts by the besiegers were immediately made to reduce it. Guns were with some difficulty put in position, a vertical fire from mortars being directed on the castle; but it was not till the 8th of September that the whole battering ordnance was brought to bear. After some hours' fire of the whole ordnance, the castle and its magazines being nearly destroyed, the governor surrendered, Sir Thomas Graham agreeing to terms of capitulation.* Lord Wellington, in his de-

* Sir T. Graham to Lord Wellington, September 8, 1813; Gurwood, xi. 100; Napier, vi. 206.

spatch to the Secretary of State reporting the conclusion of the siege,* says :—

"I beg leave again to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and of the general officers and troops under his command, in the arduous undertaking of which I am now reporting the successful close. Under the *ordonnance* recently issued by the French Government, the difficulties of the operations of a siege, and the length of time it must take, are greatly increased; and they can be brought to a conclusion only by the storm of the breach of the body of the place. The merit, therefore, is proportionally increased; and if that time is subtracted from the duration of the operations against San Sebastian, during which the besiegers waited for ammunition — viz., from 25th July to 26th August—it will be found that the operations did not last longer than has been usually required for a place which possessed three lines of defence, including the Convent of San Bartolomeo."

On the 9th September, the garrison, reduced

* September 10, 1813; Gurwood, xi. 103.

to one-third of their original number, and leaving 500 men in hospital, marched out with the honours of war. The Spanish flag was hoisted under a salute of twenty-one guns, and the siege terminated, after sixty-three days of open trenches,—memorable as the last and most obstinately contested of the sieges in the Peninsular war.* The loss to the allies from the very commencement of the siege to the taking of the citadel amounted to about 3800 killed and wounded. But its importance to the suc-

* It is hardly necessary now to refer to the unfounded scandals which were circulated after the siege, by the anti-British party at Cadiz, accusing Sir Thomas Graham and his officers of exciting the soldiers to sack and burn the town of San Sebastian. The apology for the great loss of property which no doubt occurred is well stated in a letter of Lord Wellington (2d November 1813; Gurwood, xi. 246) to the magistrates of San Sebastian, in answer to an application made to him for assistance to the inhabitants: "I received only this day your letter of the 15th October, and I am very sorry that it is not in my power to be of any use to the town of San Sebastian. The course of the operations of the war rendered necessary the attack of that town, in order to expel the enemy from the Spanish territory; and it was a subject of the utmost concern to me to see that the enemy wantonly destroyed it. The infamous libels which have been circulated upon this subject, in which the destruction of the town has been attributed to the troops under my command by order of their officers (notwithstanding that it was in great part burned and was on fire in six places before they entered it by storm), render it a matter of delicacy for me to interfere in any manner in this affair."

cess of the campaign was undoubted; and to have proceeded more slowly, according to the established rules of art, by sap and mine (had that been possible on the river side of the town), would have run the siege to a length of time when the capture of the place could have been of no use. The difficulties Lord Wellington and Sir Thomas Graham had to encounter, from a variety of circumstances over which they had no control, were very great, and could only have been overcome, as they were, by perseverance, energy and skill, and the indomitable courage of the troops.

One observation suggests itself, from the acknowledged effect which the directing of the guns by Sir Thomas Graham over the heads of the assailants on the high curtain of the rampart had on the issue of the assault. If the enemy's defences behind and at the side of the breach where the attack was made, could be so affected and destroyed as they were at this critical juncture, might not their loop-holed wall and guns remaining in position, the fire from which was so deadly, have been previously further battered down and dismounted by the continuance of the fire from the besiegers' batteries for one day or two longer

before the assault was delivered? We have seen that Lord Wellington, having examined the state of the breach and the enemy's defences on the 30th August, gave orders for the assault to begin at eleven the next forenoon. Might not a day or two more have sufficed to break down and shatter those defences, which at the storming on the 31st proved so formidable?

CHAPTER XIII.

Sir T. Graham resumes his command of the left wing of the army—Passage of the Bidassoa—Establishes the British force on French territory—Return of the complaint in his eyes—Resigns his command to Sir John Hope—Sails for England—Thanks of Parliament voted—Appointed to command a body of troops sent to assist the Dutch—Operations in Holland, and before Antwerp.

A SPANISH garrison having been placed in San Sebastian, the troops which had been engaged in the siege were moved to the front of the line of operations, Sir Thomas Graham resuming his command of the left wing of the army. Soult having been driven from all his strong points south of the Bidassoa, had now taken up an extended position on the French side of the river, having intrenched himself on the heights and in the rugged defiles of the Pyrenees. Lord Wellington was delaying a serious invasion of the French territory till the capture of the fortress of Pamplona, but in the mean-

time resolved to make the passage of the Bidassoa, the left of the army leading in the operation. On the 7th October that object was effected by Sir Thomas Graham. With the 1st and 5th divisions, and a body of Portuguese and Spanish troops, he crossed the lower Bidassoa in three columns, and after some sharp fighting, carried the enemy's intrenchments about and above the village of Andaye (now the frontier station of the railway), besides other fortified positions to the eastward. In his despatch to the Secretary of State,* reporting the passage of the Bidassoa, Lord Wellington refers to the conduct of the left of the army in the following terms :—

"The operations of both bodies of troops succeeded in every point: the British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one piece of cannon in those carried by them. I had particular satisfaction in observing the steadiness and gallantry of all the troops. . . . And I am much indebted to Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre, and to Lieutenant-General Sir

* 9th October 1813; Gurwood, xi. 176.

Thomas Graham, and to the general and staff officers of both corps, for the execution of the arrangements for this operation.

"Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham having thus established within the French territory the troops of the allied British and Portuguese army, which had been so frequently distinguished under his command, resigned the command to Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, who had arrived from Ireland on the preceding day."

The fact referred to in the despatch just quoted, of Sir Thomas Graham resigning his command to General Sir John Hope, anticipates what has now to be mentioned, that a return of the complaint in his eyes, and the general state of his health, obliged him again to quit Lord Wellington's army and restore his health at home. With what regret he left the army at this time, and with what interest he regarded the events of the campaign in the south of France, is shown by his private letters at a subsequent period of his life, when he revisited the ground he was now leaving.

Thus, after a struggle of no ordinary magnitude, had Sir Thomas Graham, under the

command of Wellington, been the first to unfurl the ensigns of Great Britain on the soil of France—forcing back the tide of war within the territory of that country from which, for upwards of twenty years, it had issued to overflow Europe. We can suppose what may have been his feelings on the day of the victorious passage of the Bidassoa, recalling the eventful years that had run since the siege of Toulon in 1793. He had witnessed at Toulon the commencement of the greatness and power of Napoleon Bonaparte, the moving spirit of the time; he had watched its progress, had seen it at its height, and now saw it on the wane. To have witnessed intelligently the events of such an era was in itself some distinction; much more to have been an actor in its history.

In the autumn of 1813, the veteran soldier, as after twenty years of service he might now fairly be called, again crossed the Bay of Biscay in one of the ships of the fleet stationed at San Sebastian, and returned to England.

The thanks of Parliament had been voted to General Graham and the force under his command after the battle of Barrosa. After the battle of Vittoria he again received the

thanks of the House of Commons at the same time as Lord Wellington, Sir Rowland Hill, and the other general officers in command upon that occasion. On the 8th of November 1813, a formal vote was moved by Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, first to the Marquis of Wellington, and then "that the thanks of the House be given to Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, for the eminent services performed by him in the course of the late military operations in Spain,—particularly for the ability, enterprise, and perseverance with which he conducted the siege and capture of the town and castle of San Sebastian."* On this occasion Sir Thomas Graham was the only general officer, after Lord Wellington, to whom the thanks of the House were separately and specially voted.

Not only in Parliament, but in the great centres of population throughout the country, honours fell thick upon Sir Thomas Graham and the other leaders in the Peninsular war, which, after years of alternate hope and de-

* Hansard, xxvii. 67.

pression, was now brought to so happy a termination. In the autumn of this year he received the freedom of the cities of London and Edinburgh, the parchments being enclosed respectively in gold boxes.

Soon after returning to England, he found his eyesight and his general health so much improved, that he accepted an appointment to command a body of troops sent from this country to Holland, to assist the Dutch in their insurrection against the French rule. A Prussian force under General Bulow was to co-operate in South Holland for the same purpose.

In the beginning of January 1814, the French had evacuated all the fortified places in Holland, with the exception of the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom and one or two other fortresses, and had concentrated the strength of their troops in Antwerp, of which the veteran Carnot had been appointed governor. The British and Prussians having occupied Breda and Williamstadt made a forward movement in the direction of Antwerp. After some desultory fighting, and dislodging the enemy from his positions, a well-contested

battle was fought on the 13th of January at Merxhem, near Antwerp. The French were driven from their intrenchments with the loss of a thousand men, and retreated within the fortifications of Antwerp.*

To lay regular siege to Antwerp was an operation entirely out of the question for the allied force to undertake; but with the help of some Dutch mortars they established a small battery, and for three days bombarded the place. The attack was confined chiefly to the great basin of Antwerp and the ships of war within it. The efforts of the besiegers were, in a considerable degree, counteracted by the precautions of Carnot. Two or three small ships were sunk, and the French custom-house burned. Not having intended a regular bombardment of the town, while part of their ordnance had become unserviceable and their ammunition was failing, the allies desisted from their attack;† the Prussian force at the same time receiving orders to join the grand army which was then entering France.

* Sir T. Graham to Earl Bathurst, 14th January 1814; Edinburgh Annual Register, Appendix, p. 189.

† Sir T. Graham to Earl Bathurst, 6th February 1814; Edinburgh Annual Register, Appendix, p. 191.

The British force under Sir Thomas Graham, augmented by reinforcements and a corps of Germans to about 9000 men, remained in cantonments on the north side of Antwerp, in readiness to protect the country against excursions from the French garrison.

CHAPTER XIV.

Bergen-op-Zoom—Condition of the fortress—Attempt by Sir T. Graham to take it by surprise—Which is unsuccessful—Observations—Notices by Napoleon and Sir W. Napier of the attempt upon Bergen-op-Zoom.

BERGEN-OP-ZOOM, the only place of consequence then remaining to the French in Holland, is one of the strongest fortresses in the Low Countries. Situated on a flat near the mouth of the Scheldt, its works were designed by the celebrated Cohorn. A stranger approaching the town might not discover its great strength until made aware of it by the winding of his carriage among the endless lines of outworks, bastions, moats, and drawbridges. It was garrisoned by upwards of 4000 French troops (of which about 2700 were effective), commanded by General Bizanet,—a force inadequate to the manning of its extensive lines and outworks. Some of the defences were

out of repair, and the wet ditches were frozen over. The native inhabitants, numbering about 6000 — mostly seafaring people of a peaceful character—were favourable to any attempt to relieve them from the French yoke.

Such being the condition of matters at Bergen-op-Zoom, Sir Thomas Graham planned an assault of the place by surprise as the only mode of attack open to him under the circumstances. The troops destined for this service amounted to 3900, divided in four columns, commanded by General Cooke. Of these columns, two were to make their way by escalade at certain points of the rampart near the Antwerp Gate; another was to make a feint and diversion at the Steinberger Gate; the fourth was to enter by the Water Gate, at a place where the small river Zoom flows from the town into the harbour. This access was fordable at low water, for which reason the attack was fixed for half-past ten o'clock on the night of the 8th of March. The instructions to the officers in command were, as soon as they reached the top of the rampart, to incline towards each other, unite and force open the Antwerp Gate. The operations commenced with the feint attack, which had the effect of

drawing a large part of the garrison towards the Steinberger Gate. Of the columns that made the actual assault, two reached the ramparts near the Antwerp Gate by escalade,—surmounting some unforeseen difficulties, and having at several points to encounter a galling fire. Unfortunately, several of the officers highest in command in their columns fell early in the night,—thus causing a defect in the communications and mutual understanding of all the troops. The column entering from the harbour by the Water Gate, keeping their footing with difficulty, gained the ramparts without the loss of a man, although, on separating to pass along the ramparts, they suffered from the garrison's fire.*

Upwards of 2000 men were now upon the walls of an almost impregnable fortress. The enemy were surprised, and wellnigh prepared to surrender when it should be daybreak. The assailants had possession of nearly the whole of the ramparts and bastions, while some had actually entered the streets of the town. But fortune has much to say in war;

* Sir T. Graham's Despatches, 10th and 11th March 1814; Edinburgh Annual Register, 1814, Appendix, p. 203. Alison's History of Europe, chap. lxxiv. vol. x. p. 276 *et seq.*

and here she turned against the assailants. With the exception of General Cooke, the leading officers were killed or disabled; and there was felt the want of directing officers equal to the emergency. The garrison, recovering from their surprise, resumed the offensive; and, rallied by the governor and their officers, vigorously charged the assailants, already labouring under the disadvantages of want of leaders, confined space, and the mistakes and confusion incident to a night attack.* The Antwerp Gate, protected by its own strength and the fire of the garrison, could not be forced open; and the columns were thus prevented from uniting. Some of the soldiers got into spirit-shops, some were benumbed with cold, and all were more or less affected by that uncertainty and hesitation which are so fatal in military actions. No reinforcements arrived from without; and in this particular Sir Thomas Graham possibly trusted too much to the effect of surprise or

* The Duke of Wellington, at the end of a despatch to Colonel Bunbury (1st April 1814, Gurwood, xi. 618), adverting to the issue of the attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, remarks that "Night attacks upon good troops are seldom successful;" an observation founded on and confirmed by previous historical instances.—Stanhope's Reign of Queen Anne, 1702, p. 56; Grote's Greece, part ii. chap. 48.

panic upon the enemy, at the same time confiding more than circumstances allowed in the well-known courage of his troops, whose numbers were not more than equal to the number of the garrison.

As day broke, the guns of the place, where the situation permitted, were pointed against the assailants; and the governor, with full knowledge of the localities, directed the efforts of his men successively against the two corps of besiegers, who were divided from each other. After a desperate contest on the ramparts, and the loss of about 900 killed and wounded, the survivors of the British troops within the town were compelled to lay down their arms. The prisoners were exchanged the day after the assault of Bergen-op-Zoom (for siege it cannot be called) by convention with General Bizanet, whose humanity and courtesy are acknowledged in Sir Thomas Graham's despatch.*

* To Earl Bathurst, 10th March 1814; Edinburgh Annual Register, 1814, Appendix, p. 203. The narrative portion of this despatch is as follows: "It is unnecessary to state the reasons which determined me to make the attempt to carry such a place by storm, since the success of two of the columns, in establishing themselves on the ramparts with very trifling loss, must justify the having incurred the risk, for the attainment of so important an object as the capture of

It is within the scope of a memoir such as this, to record, in connection with the assault of Bergen-op-Zoom, two personal notices of Lord Lynedoch by Sir William Napier and

such a fortress. The troops employed were formed in four columns. No. 1, the left column, attacked between the Antwerp and Water Port Gates. No. 2 attacked to the right of the New Gate. No. 3 was destined only to draw attention by a false attack near the Steinberger Gate, and to be afterwards applicable, according to circumstances. No. 4, right column, attacked at the entrance of the harbour, which could be forded at low water, and the hour was fixed, accordingly, at half-past ten P.M. of the 8th inst.

"Major-General Cooke accompanied the left column; Major-General Skerret and Brigadier-General Gore both accompanied the right column,—this was the first which forced its way into the body of the place. These two columns were directed to move along the ramparts, so as to form a junction as soon as possible, and then to proceed to clear the rampart and assist the centre column, or to force open the Antwerp Gate. An unexpected difficulty about passing the ditch on the ice having obliged Major-General Cooke to change the point of attack, a considerable delay ensued, and that column did not gain the rampart till half-past eleven. Meanwhile, the lamented fall of Brigadier-General Gore and Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, and the dangerous wounds of Major-General Skerret, depriving the right column of their able direction, it fell into disorder, and suffered great loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. . . . At daybreak, the enemy, having turned the guns of the place, opened their fire against the troops on the unprotected rampart; and the reserve of the 4th column (Royal Scotch) retired from the Water Port Gate, followed by the 33d. The former regiment, getting under a cross fire from the place and Water Port redoubt, soon afterwards laid down their arms. Major-General Cooke then despairing of success, directed the retreat of

by the Emperor Napoleon, as reported by Barry O'Meara. Sir William Napier, in a disquisition on Napoleon's instructions to his governors of fortresses,* which forbade the surrender of a fortress without having stood at least one assault, has the following passage :—

"What governor was ever in a more desperate situation than General Bizanet at Bergen-op-Zoom, when Sir Thomas Graham, with a hardihood and daring which would alone place him amongst the foremost men of enterprise which Europe can boast of, threw more than 2000 men upon the ramparts of that almost impregnable fortress? The young soldiers of the garrison, frightened by a surprise in the night, were dispersed—were flying. The assailants had possession of the

the Guards, which was conducted in the most orderly manner, protected by the remains of the 69th Regiment and of the right wing of the 55th (which corps repeatedly drove the enemy back with the bayonet), under the Major-General's immediate direction. The General afterwards found it impossible to withdraw these weak battalions; and having thus, with the genuine feelings of a true soldier, devoted himself, he surrendered, to save the lives of the gallant men remaining with him." (The remainder of the despatch refers to the services of particular officers and troops.)

* History of the Peninsular War, vi. 193, 195.

walls for several hours; yet some cool and brave officers, rallying the men towards morning, charged up the narrow ramps, and drove the assailants over the parapets into the ditch. They who could not at first defend their works were now able to retake them; and so completely successful and illustrative of Napoleon's principle was this counter-attack, that the number of prisoners equalled that of the garrison."

In Barry O'Meara's 'Napoleon in Exile,'* a conversation is reported in which the Emperor, adverting to the English mode of besieging towns, observed, that "the storming of Bergen-op-Zoom was a most daring attempt, but that it ought not or could not have succeeded, the number of the garrison being greater than that of the assailants."† O'Meara rejoined, that "the failure was in part to be attributed to one of the generals not having taken the precaution to communicate the orders which had been given to him to any one else; so that, when he was killed or

* Vol. ii. p. 194.

† The garrison was nominally 4500 strong, but not all effective.—Alison's History, chap. lxxiv. vol. x. p. 277.

mortally wounded, the troops did not know how to act." The Emperor replied, that "even if no accident of the kind had occurred, the attempt ought not to have succeeded, unless the party attacked became, as sometimes happened, panic-struck." Napoleon then observed that General Graham had been commissary * with the army at the time of his own first career of arms at Toulon. "A daring old man," the Emperor said; and asked "if he were not the same who had commanded in the affair near Cadiz."

After the well-planned but unsuccessful attempt upon Bergen-op-Zoom, no operation of consequence occupied the small British army in Holland during the spring of 1814; and it was ordered back to England on the occurrence of the events in France which terminated in the Peace of Paris and the abdication of Napoleon.

* A mistake in point of fact.

CHAPTER XV.

Sir T. Graham created a peer—A gold-hilted sword voted to him by the city of London—General view of the private life of Lord Lynedoch after the peace of 1815*—Frequently on the Continent—Appointed to the Government of Dumbarton Castle — His opinion on reduction of taxation.*

THE long contest in the Peninsula being now brought to a glorious issue, and the blessing of peace being, to all appearance, restored to Europe, the Prince Regent and the nation became desirous of testifying their gratitude in some enduring way to those gallant men who had been instrumental in bringing about so desirable a result. Wellington's well-earned dukedom and the estate with which it was endowed are matter of history. His generals —Graham, Hill, Cotton, and Beresford—were (3d May 1814) created peers, with a pension to each of £2000 a-year. The title taken by Sir Thomas Graham was Baron Lynedoch

of Balgowan.* On the motion in the House of Lords as to his annuity, the Earl of Liverpool, First Lord of the Treasury, said :†

"It was perfectly in their lordships' recollection that Sir Thomas Graham had been, during a considerable period, the second in command in Spain and Portugal; and he continued in this station till the moment when he was the first to plant the British standard on the territory of France. The state of his health then compelled him to tender his resignation; but the distinguished part he had performed in the campaigns of the Peninsula was a sufficient reason for recommending him to the attention of Parliament on the present occasion. When the counter-revolution broke out in Holland, it was thought necessary to send a person there in whose judgment and abilities the Government could confide; and though his health was far from re-established,

* The arms assumed by him were those of Graham of Balgowan, varied by the addition of a rose from the Montrose shield; with supporters—a Horse bridled and a Countryman habited bearing a hoe on his left shoulder; and his family crest, a Dove surmounting a baron's coronet, with motto, *Candidè et securè.*

† Hansard, 11th May 1814.

he immediately accepted the command, under circumstances peculiarly inconvenient to him. His achievements there had not indeed been so brilliant as elsewhere; but no blame was attributable to him: he stood in a situation of great delicacy, and it was not possible for any one to act with more ability, judgment, and moderation."

Lord Lynedoch soon after took his seat in the House of Lords. Although not a frequent attender of the House, he never missed a really important debate or division, when he had it in his power to be present. In the summer of 1814 a gold-hilted sword was voted and presented to him by the city of London.

We have now reached a period of the life of Lord Lynedoch which presents few materials for the biographer, however interesting it was and delightful to his many attached friends. His correspondence, both on matters of business and otherwise, was extensive. But it does not enter into the plan of this memoir to raise the veil of his private life, or quote letters, the interest of which is more of a personal than of a public kind. It will be

sufficient for the purpose in view to trace rapidly the remaining years of his life.

Even in private, Lord Lynedoch's was a life eminently of action. "You are right," said Frederick the Great to one of his courtiers, "when you say that I am active and diligent: I am so, that I may live, for nothing resembles death so much as idleness."* This was the uniform rule or rather habit of Lord Lynedoch's life. Whether engaged in pursuits useful and beneficial to his estate and his countrymen, or sharing in what outdoor amusements his age permitted, or travelling on the Continent, or entertaining or visiting his friends, there was always what may be called a progressive movement or tendency in his life.

Passing the greater part of the year in England or on the Continent, he usually made a point of being in Scotland in autumn. The cottage at Lynedoch had been enlarged, and was now capable of accommodating a considerable number of visitors. The Duke of Gordon's or Lord Panmure's moors would see him grouse-shooting on the 12th of August; and in September and October he

* Archenholz, Geschichte des Sieben-jährigen Kriegs.

would be superintending improvements at Lynedoch, or making shooting-parties in the woods and preserves. In the early part of the present century pheasants had just been introduced into Scotland. Lord Lynedoch very soon satisfied himself as to what has since been found to be the best method of preserving them. In a letter in 1821 * he says:—

"As to the suggestion about limiting the killing of pheasants, I thought at first the best course would be to restrict the time of killing, but I don't much care about it. The principal point is the winter feeding, as without that they would all disappear even if none were killed; and with it there will always be a stock, if there are any in the country."

In the summer of 1819, Lord Lynedoch, accompanied by his cousin Mr Robert Graham, went on a tour to the Continent, visiting Denmark and Sweden, where he was entertained by the king at Stockholm. In September they were at St Petersburg; after which, by way of Vienna, they went southward to Italy, making some stay at Milan and Genoa, and

* March 24, 1821, to Andrew Murray, Esq.

returning to England in the spring of 1820. During the whole of this journey, except having occasionally a slight attack of lumbago or a cold, Lord Lynedoch, now in his seventy-second year, was in excellent health and spirits. In travelling, tea was his usual beverage.

In June 1821 he visited the south of France and the Pyrenees, tracing the movements of the Duke of Wellington's army, from the point where he left it in October 1813, to the conclusion of the campaign at Toulouse.*

For some years at this time of his life, Lord Lynedoch, when not living in London or visiting, passed most of the winter and spring at Cosgrove Priory in Northamptonshire, of which he had a lease; the chief attraction of this residence being that it was in a good hunting country. He was always in correspondence, however, when absent from Scotland, as to the concerns of his estate in Perthshire, and his improvements and works at Lynedoch; his suggestions and instructions being of the most minute description, emanating evidently from one who had in his mind a

* Letters, Lord Lynedoch to Andrew Murray, Esq. Mr Murray, father of the author of this Memoir, was a cousin of Lord Lynedoch's, and one of his commissioners for managing his affairs when abroad.

map of the country as distinct as an ordnance survey.*

In May 1829 Lord Lynedoch was appointed to the government of Dumbarton Castle, a post of more distinction than profit; his old companion in arms Lord Hill, then at the Horse Guards, writing to him at the same time the following kind letter:†

"HORSE GUARDS, *May* 22, 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD LYNEDOCH,—I cannot forward the official notification of your appointment to the government of Dumbarton Castle, without at the same time assuring you that I have never in my life had the opportunity of conferring a favour which has afforded me more sincere satisfaction; and I am sensible that you will feel gratified by learning that my nomination has met with the cordial approba-

* Two bridges across the river Almond, in the building of which he took a principal part, are associated with the memory of Lord Lynedoch,—one on the Dunkeld road, near the confluence of the Almond with the Tay, of three elliptical arches; the other at Dalcrue, near Lynedoch, spanning the river from a rock on each side, with a semicircular arch eighty feet in width, and rising forty feet in height from the average water-level. The second of these bridges, with its approaches, cost him a large sum of money.

† Sidney's Life of Lord Hill, p. 341.

tion of his Majesty.—Believe me to be ever faithfully yours, HILL."

In August following he accompanied his friends General and Mrs Trevor to the Continent, travelling to Italy by way of Aix-la-Chapelle. They wintered at Pisa, staying there about four months, not wishing to get into the bustle of any of the great towns.* On 21st May 1830 he wrote from Lucca :—

"I see Lord Goderich has made a very excellent statement concerning the national debt, and placed before the public a more flattering view of the progress of the diminution of interest since the Peace than any that has yet been brought before Parliament. However cheering this may be to those who content themselves with theoretical speculations concerning the abilities of the country to go to war, if necessary, such an event is most sincerely to be deprecated. Nothing can be so likely to relieve the middling and lower classes, as the reduction of those taxes upon the necessaries of life which bear so heavily upon their comforts; and the sound of pre-

* Letters, Lord Lynedoch to Mr Murray, 1829 and 1830.

paration for war would totally prevent any such relief, however the Government might wish to grant it. The assessed taxes, the malt-tax, with those on soap and candles, if removed, would bring back comfort to the houses of the farmer and cottager, as well as to the operatives in manufactures. The home market—the best, after all, for the manufactures of the country—would then revive. I am just returned from a three weeks' expedition into the Venetian territory, all the better for my journey; and we are preparing soon to remove to the Lake of Como in order to avoid the great heats that are beginning to be felt."

CHAPTER XVI.

Revolution of July 1830—*Politics—Lord Lynedoch supports the Ministry in the divisions on the Reform Bill—Accession of Queen Victoria—Visits the Continent for the last time—His death and character.*

In the summer of 1830 took place the French Revolution of July. Lord Lynedoch, with General and Mrs Trevor, after an excursion from Lucca into the Venetian territory, passed the summer months at the Lake of Como, returning to Lucca in September. He wrote from that place (26th September 1830) :—

"I rejoiced that our Government did not hesitate to recognise the new order of things in France. It is provoking, however, to see that the heroic deeds of the Parisians should have been considered as an example to be followed by a Brussels mob. No time should

have been lost in repressing this tumult, which now has brought Belgium into a state that may lead to disturb the tranquillity of Europe."

In the change of Ministry that took place in England in November 1830, and in the subsequent introduction of the Reform Bill, Lord Lynedoch, though he took no active part, felt much interest. Since his elevation to the peerage in 1814, he had, in the House of Lords, given a general political support to the Whig party; although, like some other members of that party in the four or five years preceding 1830, he approved of and supported the liberal policy of Mr Canning, Mr Huskisson and Lord Goderich. No one rejoiced more than he did at the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, under the auspices of his former chief. He was in London during the protracted discussion of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords, attending the principal debates, and voting with the Government. He was present also when the royal assent was given to the Bill.

During the years that followed, Lord Lynedoch pursued a course of life similar to that

already referred to. But age was now beginning to lay its hand upon him, so far as regarded his bodily strength and his eyesight. He had been several times couched for the complaint in his eyes, and was always the better for it. His secretary (Mr Waller) attended him almost constantly, and generally read and wrote for him. He had some years before given up his lease of Cosgrove Priory, and purchased a house in London—No. 12, Stratton Street, Piccadilly. Almost each year till his death he spent the autumn months at Lynedoch, visiting occasionally and entertaining his friends and neighbours.

In June 1837 William IV. died. The following letter,* addressed to the author of this Memoir, shows Lord Lynedoch's impression of that event:—

"Everything is deranged by the death of King William, so little apprehended when you were in town; and people are fast going into the country about their election business. Hitherto the only appointments in the Queen's household are ladies, and those indicate the Queen's intention of continuing the present

* 29th June 1837, 12 Stratton Street, London.

Ministers in office. On all occasions since she has been called to exercise the regal functions, she has conducted herself with singular self-possession, and yet with natural modesty. She has only been once in London, the day she was proclaimed at St James's. . . . There was a kind of private drawing-room the other day at Kensington Palace, when the foreign ministers were presented to her; and she knighted Lord Durham with the sword of state—a ceremony, I think, she must have had a lesson for, to enable her to manage the sword, which is long and heavy."

In the end of July of this year Lord Lynedoch attended a political dinner given at Perth to the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, on his being returned at the general election as member for that city. In the course of the evening Lord Lynedoch made an animated speech, in which he referred to his views on the Catholic question in 1807 as having lost him the political support of friends in the county of Perth, — intimating, at the same time, that if he was not a "party man" before, he had from that date become one.*

* Perthshire Advertiser, August 8, 1837.

His presence in public was on all occasions greeted with every mark of respect.

In the end of autumn 1841 he went for the last time to the Continent, travelling through France by way of Marseilles to Genoa and Rome. His riding-horses were sent on to Rome, and he rode frequently in the Campagna.* He complained now a good deal of rheumatism. In August 1842, when the Queen made her first visit to Scotland, he was in the north of Italy, at Como, from whence he wrote minute directions as to triumphal arches, &c., in honour of her Majesty's visiting the neighbourhood of Perth, when she passed through a part of his estate. Returning to England later in the autumn, he was at Lynedoch in September and October, and passed the winter in Stratton Street.

Lord Lynedoch, now in his ninety-sixth year, passed the months of August and September 1843 in Scotland. He continued to the last his early rising in the morning, and his active habits and temperate mode of living. He rode out every day as usual, receiving

* In the later years of his life Lord Lynedoch was always accompanied in his rides and drives by a favourite English terrier, Nigel, which died this year at Rome.

some assistance in mounting. Making one or two visits on his way to London, he began the winter in his house in Stratton Street.

In December of this year he took a severe cold, from which he did not recover. For a day or two before his death he could take no nourishment except a little port wine. Inflammation in the throat, and the difficulty of expectoration caused by increasing weakness, fatally affected his breathing and swallowing. He had not much actual suffering, and was calm and tranquil.

As not unfrequently happens, Lord Lynedoch felt himself rather better immediately before his decease. On the morning of the day on which he died—the 18th December—he insisted on getting up and being dressed. In the afternoon of that day, becoming faint, he had to be carried to his bed, which was a small tent-bed. He was then laid across the bed, with his clothes on, which he would not allow to be taken off, his head being propped up by pillows set against the wall at the back of the bed, and his feet stretched across two chairs. In this position he died. Two of his relatives, Sir Richard Clarges,* and his secre-

* Sir Richard Clarges, better known as General Hare, was

tary, were with Lord Lynedoch at his death. When his body was laid in the coffin, the face is described by an eyewitness to have been "calm and placid, not in the least distorted, and looking more like sleep than death."

His remains were taken in a coffin from London by sea to Dundee, and thence to Lynedoch, to be interred in the mausoleum at Methven. As the carriages passed through Perth to Lynedoch, the bells were tolled by order of the magistrates, and the shops were closed; while several thousand people in the line of the procession testified their feelings of regard for the deceased by their presence and mournful silence. On Tuesday, 2d January, the funeral took place according to the form of the Church of Scotland. On reaching the bridge over the Almond at Dalcrue the funeral *cortège* was joined by the tenantry and people of the estate and neighbourhood, on horseback and on foot, all being animated by one sentiment—a mingled feeling of veneration and sorrow.

When the procession reached Methven

an intimate friend of Lord Lynedoch, and much with him in his later life. He was the officer recommended by him to the Duke of Wellington to carry home the despatches reporting the taking of San Sebastian in 1813.

churchyard, and the mausoleum in which Mrs Graham was buried appeared in sight, the mournful interest of the scene was increased by the recollections it called up. The influence which the death of Mrs Graham had on the course of Lord Lynedoch's life has already been seen. And now, after the lapse of half a century, their coffins were laid side by side in the same tomb.*

The two best portraits of Lord Lynedoch are by Sir Thomas Lawrence, in the United Service Club in London, and in the County Hall at Perth, both painted by subscription. There is a bronze statue of him in the Wellington College, by Theed, presented by the late Robert Graham, Esq. of Redgorton.

This Memoir has been written to little purpose, if the chief traits distinguishing the character of its subject have not been brought out in the narrative. Endowed by nature with a strong intellect cultivated by education, an athletic frame of body and great energy of character, Lord Lynedoch was in early life remarkable for putting those faculties to use in

* Lord Lynedoch wore till his death on the little finger of his left hand his wife's wedding-ring, which had nearly grown into the flesh.

whatever channels were then open to him. In the larger and more important career which he afterwards opened for himself, they found greater scope for their development. Enterprising and daring in forming his plans, the good information and sagacity which he brought to bear upon everything he undertook prevented the imputation of rashness. Prompt in execution and in seizing opportunities when occasion offered, his courage in action was of a ready and fearless kind. He endured hardships and met difficulties with a determination to bear and to overcome, which became a habit of his life. He had great coolness and equanimity of temper, and nothing disconcerted him. He never gave way to luxury, although often in society where he might have been tempted to do so, but was uniformly temperate, abstemious, and hardy in his mode of living. Lord Lynedoch had not a little of the "clear spirit" which Clarendon in his history has ascribed to the Marquis of Montrose.* No danger deterred him in the

* Book xii. Lord Clarendon, when using the expression in the text, may possibly have had in his mind the lines of Milton:—

> "Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
> (That last infirmity of noble mind),
> To scorn delights and live laborious days." —*Lycidas.*

execution of an enterprise or of a duty. He was not always successful in his military undertakings; but even when unsuccessful, maintaining the prestige of the British arms. Although in Cadiz and at Barrosa he held an independent command, his great qualities never appeared to more advantage than when tempered by the conduct and foresight of the Duke of Wellington in the campaign of Vittoria and at the siege of San Sebastian.

Lord Lynedoch's personal activity and love of locomotion continued during the whole of his life.* When residing at Cosgrove Priory, he would, after a late London dinner-party, be at the meet of hounds in Northamptonshire at half-past ten next morning. At Lynedoch he would be on horseback before breakfast, on the banks of the Almond, and afterwards make some carriage excursion, ride, or accompany his friends shooting. He was always thoroughly well informed on every topic of

* In this he may have had partly a view to health, one of his medical axioms being, that occasional change of air and diet was essential to health, and a good method of cure. Another of his rules of health is given in the postscript of a letter (30th January 1798) to a cousin of more sedentary habits than his own: "You should take plenty of exercise in all weathers, as the best means of preventing stomach complaints."

the day. In the matter of religion he was not demonstrative, attending when in Scotland forenoon service in one or other of his parish churches.

In the army and in private life Lord Lynedoch was much beloved by his friends; his manners and address were frank and simple, while at the same time those of a polished gentleman. His table and house, both in the Peninsula and at home, were marked by cordial hospitality devoid of ostentation. In the country, his tenantry and neighbours looked to him as their sincere friend, attentive to their concerns, and mindful of their interests.

Born in the reign of George the Second, and dying in that of Queen Victoria, Lord Lynedoch's life extended through an era of remarkable men, of whom not many, whether in public life or in society, have left, more than he has done, their impress on the age in which they lived.*

* If I may quote the concluding words of an obituary notice in the 'Times' of December 20, 1843, Lord Lynedoch died "leaving behind him a name which will be held in honoured remembrance while loyalty is considered a virtue, and military renown a passport to fame."

APPENDIX

[The following Poem, handsomely printed in quarto, is dedicated

"To the Right Honourable

CHARLES SHAW, LORD CATHCART,

etc. etc.

BY

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

Glasgow College, *August* 10, 1775."]

EPITHALAMIUM

ON THE

MARRIAGES

OF

HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL

AND OF

THE HONOURABLE MRS. GRAHAM

OF BALGOWAN.

BY

MR. RICHARDSON,

PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF GLASGOW.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS.
MDCCLXXV.

EPITHALAMIUM, &c.

THE season smiled: the gentle airs of May
Flew from the bosom of an argent cloud,
Wafting on downy wings prolific showers,
And gladdening all the valley. Hills and groves
Rang with wild melody: and every dale
Shouted with joy. 'Twas then, where Devon guides
His winding current, in a verdant vale
Lingering with fond delay, and raptured all
With the adornments of a cultured hill
Laved by his wandering wave, the rural swains
Beheld two Roses of illustrious stem
Blushing with orient bloom. The morning dews
Lay on their leaves, impearling them. The gales
That fan the bosom of returning spring,
And waft perfumes from her ambrosial hair,
Played with their waving foliage, and diffused
Their influence and enlivening odour bland.*
No noisome weed was near them: and no shrub

* If we are to consider Professor Richardson, in these introductory lines, as intimating that the marriages of the Duchess of Atholl and Mrs Graham took place in the month of May, he must have been exercising a poetical licence, their real date having been the 26th December 1774.

Of noxious quality, with fast embrace
Twining insidious 'mid the tender shoots,
Empoisoned them. No fell envenomed tooth
Of ravening insect in the sickly blast
Of Eurus wafted, nor the tainting glance
Of stars malignant shot athwart them, scathed
Their beauty. For a noble Shepherd reared
The lovely flowers; he watered them; invoked
The dews of heaven to foster them; invoked
Favonian breezes to preserve them safe
From mildews, pestilential blights, and all
The infectious vapours of a feverish sky.
By him solicited, the muses came,
The Muses and the Virtues: for they knew
His voice, had seen him at their altar oft
With pure oblation bend. They came, and waked
Those energies producing (unperceived
But in the consequence and fair effect)
The power of pleasing. Lovely flowers! they pleased,
And bloomed, and smiled, unconscious of their bloom.
Yet were they praised, and tuneful voices oft
Published their praises. Many a wood-nymph wild
Hied from her mossy arbour to admire
Their blazoned hue: and in the coral grove
Of Thetis many a watery power extolled
Their soft, subduing virtues, chiefly those,
That from fantastic urns and fountains, hid
In glimmering grottos or in caverned rocks,
Pour tribute to the Devon, and increase
The pride of Forth. Even scientific Clyde
Ceased from his meditation, and refrained
From classic warblings, ravished with the meed
Bestowed on Devon and his peerless blooms.
Tay heard with ecstasy; and raptured Erne
Listened with fond attention.

Ye that admired, and with due rites approached,
Transplanted them, and bade them grow beside
Your native streams, preserve them. Be assured,
'Tis not their beauty and external grace
That solely will delight you. They have powers
And energies to bless your souls, to soothe
The anxieties of human life, to heal
The wounds inflicted by pursuing care,
To fill your breasts with heavenly fires, improve
And dignify your natures. For I deem,
If right I read the mystic vision, now
In high effulgent colouring revealed
Auspicious by the muse,—I deem, from bowers
Of happiness, a spirit pure descends,
And visits them propitious, and imparts,
Even with maternal tenderness, imparts
Virtues of powerful efficacy. Soft
With dews of even, the blessed influence comes;
And often with the holy morning, ere
The gairish day her eastern window decks
With blazing beams; when solemn silence reigns,
And the religious, awful hour best suits
The visit of ethereal guests. Receive,
Ye blooms so highly favoured, oh receive
Grateful that holy influence, and preserve
Its energies entire, for they will last,
And gain you favour, and procure you peace,
Even at the dreary time when wintry winds
Shall 'reave the valley of her roseate hues!

'Twas thus a swain uncouth, in rustic guise,
Warbling the measures of an oaten reed,
Ventured to join a bridal pomp, and blessed
The fair occasion. Fain, with festive note
And lyric ecstasy, would he have raised

The various modulations, and have called
On Cupid, peradventure, and his band
Of Smiles and Graces from the Cyprian shore,
To gladden the solemnity. The Muse
Rebuked his purpose. "Reckless swain," she cried,
"Deem'st thou, where youth and beauty in the fane
Of Hymen worship, that the Paphian band
Are distant, or require thy bidding? Change
Thy simple thought, and with demeanour due
Tender thy gratulation." He obeyed,
Duteous, as well beseemed him, to the Power
That often led him to the lonely wild,
And visited his secret soul with dreams
Effulgent, or with various dittied notes.
He yielded due obedience; but, unskilled
In courtly blandishment, and fearful all,
By utterance unseemly, to offend
Ears 'customed to more honeyed accents, smoothed
In fashionable mode with borrowed phrase
Ambiguous, and allusion soft, he veiled
His mind in quaint disguisement. Ladies fair!
Erewhile ye listened, and with partial smile
Approved his minstrelsy, even now he deems
Ye will accept his offering; for it flows
Ardent, and bears the signature of truth.

THE END.

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